TERRA MATER

FRANZ ALTHEIM

HERITAGE

TERRA MATER

EXAMINATIONS
ON THE ANCIENT ITALIAN HISTORY OF RELIGION

FROM

FRANZ ALTHEIM

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Cborus Proserpinae

When, after more than ten years of the Hannibaliscfian War, ominous signs began to appear again in 207, the *ponliflces* decided to organise a parade through the city three times by nine virgins to ward off disaster and to perform a song of atonement together. The Tarentine freedman Livins Andronicna was beguiled with his version. While he was rehearsing the girls' choir in the 'Temple of Jupiter Stator', lightning struck the roof of the Sanctuary of Juno Regina at the Agentin. After the *haruspices had* been consulted, a new decision was made: the matrons of the city had to make a gift to the goddess, and a solemn procession was ordered, in which the girls' choir also took part and sang the song of Livius ¥ndronicus in honour of Juno.

This is the report of Livy (27, 37)[1] , w h i c h tells of the first Parthenion on Roman soil. Subsequently, it was not the only one of its kind. For just seven years later, the same custom was repeated, again in connection with certain atonement measures, only this time the writing of the song was attributed to the
P. Licinius Tegnla. Livius also tells us this fact a few books later (31, 12, 10), whereby he also remembers the older song, which Livius Andronicus
- To use the historian's own words -
patrum memoria had written.

In more recent times, this second passage of Livin has formed the starting point for far-reaching combinations. Less

' **Livius'** statements, which **are certainly only** an abridged **extract from** an **annalistic** report **(B. Diels, Sibyll. Blätt. 90 note 1), are not** clear in all respects ¡ **at least** the **view we have suggested may** be considered the most truthful (cf. F. Neo, Ge9ch. der röm. Litt. 1, 57 note 1).

This is because the former author was not commissioned to write the processional song again: The change c a n be explained with some certainty by the death of the already elderly poet. It was another 3toment t h a t provided the impetus here. Cichoriua ' has pointed out how strange it is that Livins uses the expression *palrum* me "iorio to describe the song, which dates back only seven years. This could not possibly refer t o that processional song, rather it must be a different one, which, according to Livius' words, one would like to think of as dating back at least nm several decades -. The question remains as to what he had in mind.

According to Cichorin's version, only one possibility comes into consideration. The unfavourable turn that the war with the Carthaginians took led to the organisation of the first secular celebration according to Greek rites in 249. At the behest of the Sibyllines, a sacrifice was offered to the underworld gods Drs and Proserpina on three consecutive nights, during which a carnteii was sung that must have been dedicated to the same deities. This *carmen,* whose arrangement through the sacred sayings is reported to us by Verrins Flaccus alone (in Pa.-Asconiua zn Hor., c. saec. 8), was meant by Livins. That it had a certain fame is shown by the 'fataache, that it had left other traces - Cichorins believes it to be recognised in the *chorus Proserpinae,* which Varro, de 1. 1. 6, 94 cites - and that it belonged to Livius Andronicus is supported by various considerations. Firstly, he was the only poet that Rome had at its disposal at that time; furthermore, the rite of the sacrificial celebration, as the name of the sacrificial site, the Tareiitvm, and the Audi *'Tarentini* show, came from the poet's home town, so that it was obvious for this reason to use him to compose the canticle. Although the news we have received d o e s not mention his name, nor does it say that it w a s a chorus of idols, Livios must nevertheless be associated with the *palrwm memoria*

' **Roman Studies** 1 f.

• **Ygl. the** passages **cited by Ron Gichorins** 1. c. 4.

° **O. Wisßowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Rönn.- 311; on the cult of Pluton (Diß) and Persephone in Tarentum most recently G.** Gianelli, **Culti e miti della magna** Grecia 23f. ; **Nilsson, RE 2. Reihe 1, 1706.**

he meant that *carmen in the* song he had written. JYfit's remark was aimed at his own lost description of the Säknlarspiele, in which he certainly also mentioned the 'I'arentinian's antagonism.

Apart from two exceptions, this line of thought by Cichorius has met with almost unanimous rejection. In fact, it was not too difficult for critics to prove that the arc of the combination was all too tightly stretched here. It was rightly emphasised that the identification of the *r.home Proserpi "nae* mentioned by Varro with the *carmen* of 249 remained entirely questionable, that even with the state of our fragmentary tradition it was not reasonable to limit the circle of possibilities from the outset to the single piece of news of an older cult song that has come down to us by chance. In addition, it still deserves serious consideration whether Livin's difficult and misleading statement, which was the starting point for Cichorins' listings, could not be most easily related to the processional song of 207. It is even more probable that the historian, as Leo put it, "made a mistake in his expression" than that he was really aiming at another, much more distant event, bypassing the obvious.

Thus it seems as if Cichorios' certainly stimulating and intellectually rich combination should only be an episode for research. And yet it contains a moment that has perhaps been passed by all too quickly. l)he idea that not only the song of 249 (like the celebration in general) was a branch adopted from Tarentum, but also that a native Tarentino composed it and thus built a bridge between his old and his new homeland, undoubtedly has something captivating about it; the inner probability that lies therein, one would only want to

' **E. Norden, Einltg. i. d. Altertumswiss.** I ° 4, 9 ; **104** ; **A. $appelmaeher, Literatur d. Römer (in Walzel's Handb. d. Lit.-Wiss.) 58.**

• **I mention here only** the **statements of F. Münser,** Nene **Jahrbiicher 51, 37 and G. Wissowa, Gött.** gel. **Anseigen 1924, 51 f.** ; **Ed. Fränkel, RE Art.** Livius, p. **854;** Biber**'s attempt, not further** mentioned **by us, to refer also the Notis in Festus, p. 333** B **to the** carmea **of 249, rgl. Miinzer,** 1. c. and Wissowa, 1. c. 58.

• Gesch. d. **röm. Litt. 1, 58 note** 2 ; **dasu Ed. Fränkel,** 1. **c. 8ö4.**

ongern disregard. This raises the question of whether it might be possible to make progress from another angle - on the basis of new material and new observations.

Let's take a closer look at Livin's report. It tells how the chorus of three times nine girls in long dresses marched in, stopped at the forum, all took up a rope together and stomped to the beat, singing their song (Liv. 27, 37, 12 f.). Although it may be taken for granted that the model for this is to be sought aof the Greek [1], the number of girls, the clothing and the common rope remain without analogy. At first glance, it seems as if one is confronted here with a singularity that we cannot directly match with anything from our by no means limited Greek comparative material.

Diele ° was, however, able to explain one particularity. For the rope that the girls grasp when dancing, he was able to recall the four eiy zoll 2opo09 that recur in the accounts of the Delian *ieqouotol* on various other occasions." But this remains a detail for the time being, and a direct \'connection between the Delian institution and the Roman one is probably not easy to draw, at least at this time. So we have to look in another direction. It is a monumental testimony that provides an almost perfect analogue to the Roman custom; strangely enough, it has been overlooked until now.

We are referring to a tomb painting from the Apolian Rnvo ', which, on the basis of certain small finds, can be dated to around the year 400.[6] It depicts two choirs of

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' E. Norden, Agnostos Theos 160 ; U. v. Wilamowitz, ibid. 398¡ F. Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 58 note 1 ¡ G. Wissowa, RnKdR- 486.

• Sibyllinisehe Blätter 91 ; dasu F. Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 57 Anm. S iind F. Marx, Rhein. Plus. 78, 419.

• 'Oh. llomolle, BVH 1882, 23 line 183. 186. 189 ; G. Robert, 8ermea 51, 166 note 1.

* F. Weege, Arch. Jahrb. 24, 124L Illustrations in Raoill-Rochette, Peintures antiques inédites pl. 15¡ F . Weege, Der Tanz in der Antike 122 f., fig. 172-173 ¡ V. Spinnazzola, Le arti decoratire, tar. 81-82 ¡ Alinari 39127.

^ E. Pagensteeher, Rönn. litt. 27, 104 ¡ F. Weege, *Det* Tans 112 v. Areh. Jahrb. 24, 130.

27 women or girls, distributed along the walls of the tomb in such a way that there are 18 participants on each long side led by a citharod, and nine on each narrow side, this time with a chorus at the head; these choruses are thus also divided into subdivisions of nine each (nenn and 2 9 - 18 girls), as was characteristic of the Roman one. The participants, dressed in a long chiton and a large head and upper body-covering shawl, perform a dance that has been compared to the *"traha"*, which is still common in southern Italy today but is also known in Greece and Corfu[1] : they pass each other in a movement that is limited to walking forwards in a long line at the same pace.

Here we do i n d e e d have t h e most imaginable model of the Roman branch. The number of girls, their costumes, the kitharöde as *zoqoötööa-zaloq* - everything corresponds to what we learn from Livins. And even if the particular trait of the participants in the Roman procession grasping a rope in view of the actual dance and thus also of the song performance has no direct equivalent, a closer connection is at least created in our depiction by the fact that the individual dancers hold each other with clasped hands and thus form a natural chain, as it were.

What does this tell us about the origin of the Roman custom? No one will assume that the Romans adopted it from Ruvo or even from Apnolia. But t h e r e is another explanation. Ruro belongs to the area within which Taranto, the probable home town of Livin's Andronicus °, acted as a cultural centre. 'We will therefore have to look for the origin of the custom there. It would therefore already have existed towards the end of the
He would also have come to Rome about 200 years later, under the influence of a native 'farentinian.

The question of the origin of the Roman Parthenion of 207 would thus have been settled. We should not s t o p at this first result. Rather, we must start anew

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' F. Weege, Der Tans 113f. Zuletst **Ed. Fränkel, 1.** e. 853.

the question can be raised as to whether a connection could be established between the chorus of virgins of 207 and the *carmen* at the sacrifice of saints of 249. Here, as there, we are dealing with a cult custom of Tarentine origin, and so the possibility that there were other relationships beyond this common origin cannot be denied. In fact, this evidence can also be provided.

The Siikular celebration of the year 249, as well as its immediate successor of 146, was, as has been said[1] , a funeral and burial celebration. It refers less to the beginning of the new era than to the death and end of the old one; accordingly, the deities of the dead were honoured.

l)iß and Proserpina celebrated the *ludi Tarentini* at the *ara Ditis iii Tarenlo* and offered nocturnal sacrifices with the singing of the cormea mentioned by Verriet Flaecus. In connection with this, it is important to note that the dance of the 27 girls was originally also part of the funeral celebrations, as its depiction in the tomb of Ruvo shows. It was performed in honour of the deceased, who was buried in this place.- In other respects, too, we encounter not only dance and musical performances in general, but also choirs in the depiction of funeral ceremonies and plays. Suffice it to refer to the most recent censuses by L. Malten.

But the connecting line can be drawn even more decisively - in such a way that it leads straight to the deities of the Säkalar celebration. We recognise from Livin's account that the 6-maiden procession of 207 was not originally dedicated to Juno Regina. She was only included through a special prodigy, the lightning strike in her sanctuary on the Aventine; initially the procuration of a completely different sign, the Twitter of Frnsino, was intended (Lin. 27, 37, 5). So that it remains to be asked to which other god the choir originally sang its song, or more correctly: wanted to sing it; for it did not come to the fulfilment of the sacred rite itself.

' G. Wisaowa, RuKdR° 430f. ; Gesamm. Abhandl. 208.

° F. Weege, Archaeol. Jahrb. 24, 135.

• **Rönn. litt.** 38/39, 314 f.¡ 518 f. **(Etruria).**

That the atonement of a hermaphrodite prodigy was hoped to be achieved by a procession of 27 girls recurs in a number of cases (except Lin. 31, 12, 9 cf. obsequ. 27-;
34 . 36 ; 48 ; 53; Phlegon, mir. 10, vv. 16f.; 24 f.; ö2). There, too, the proclamation - probably in imitation of the process of 207 and 200 - is occasionally connected with an offering to Juno Regina.- In addition - and this is of particular significance - the girls' choir appears together with certain cult acts in the service of chthonic deities. Donations to Ceres or Proserpina are mentioned (Obseq. 53, cf. 43, 46; Phleg., mir. 10 vv. 10 f. ; 20 f.; 30 f.), a *svpplicatio* for Proserpina alone (Phleg., mir. 10 vv. 24 f.) as well as the sacrifice of a black 8animal for Dispater (Phleg., mir. 10 vv. 37 f.). We thus recognise a close and repeated connection not only with the chthonic gods in general (cf. also Phleg., mir. 10 vv. 62), but also with those to whom the secular celebration was dedicated; for Dispater we may also recall the peculiarity that the bull sacrifice for him is also attested at this celebration (Valer. Max. 2, 4, ii ; Zosim. 2, 3, 3). The fact that the same chorus, as already mentioned, was part of the funeral rites in Ruvo and thus probably also in Taranto, must teach us that the original connection between the girls' chorus and the underworld deities is to be sought. It corresponds to this that Diele was able to show in a number of other cases an old and original affiliation of the three and nine numbers and their product, the 27, with the chthonic cults.

The link between the thrice-named girls and the subterraneans is therefore the closest imaginable. This leads t o a new conclusion. Verrius Flaccns only tells us that a *carmen* was sung at the celebration of 249, but not in what form; he does not mention a choir. Nevertheless, this song could only have been performed in this way. C o n s i d e r , for example, the sacrifice to Demeter in Olykonos ea' Adr (Dittenb., Syll."

' **Explained** by Tf. Diels, 1. c. 38f.; 49 f .- H. Diels, 1. c. 52 f.

• 1. c. 39f. - **To** his examples **should be added 11. 16,** 785, where **Patroclus** slays nine opponents immediately before his death in three anaturmes:

τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θεῷ ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηι,
σμερδαλέα ἰάχων, τρὶς δ' ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνεν.

615, 10), where it was admittedly a choir.[1] Or the Angustian Säknlarlied, which was sung by the double choirs of the 27 boys and girls *sacri)cio per[eclo* (CIL 6, 32 323 line 147). But if we admit that the first sacred song was also performed in this form, then there is no further step to the assertion that the choir of 249 was composed in the same way as that of 207, i.e. that it also consisted of three times nine girls.

This is confirmed by a fact whose importance has not yet been sufficiently emphasised. We see that the procession of the Virgin Mary in honour of Juno Regina took place both in 207 and in 2Ü0 at the instigation of the Decemvirn, as we would expect for an act of the *graecus rims.* On the other hand, the first procession of this kind known to us - the one that was intended to bring about the atonement of the twitter of Frusino and, in our view, was in honour of Proserpina - was ordered by the *pontifices* (Liv. 27, 37, 7). They would therefore have given the Greek branch access to Rome for the first time. Such a result would be at least extremely conspicuous. On the other hand, the event would have found a more satisfactory explanation if a similar choir of girls had already sung their song to Proserpina's discourse once before, at the secular celebration of 249; this celebration owed its introduction to the questioning of the Sibyllines by the Decemvirn. The *ponti ices would* then have fallen back on an already existing Greek rite, merely applying it to the hermaphrodite prodigy of 207 has. -

It now seems reasonable to attempt to confirm the last point of Cichorius' claims, the authorship of Livin's An- dronicus. The decisive factor here is Livin's censorship, which seems to speak in favour of it. But one objection remains to be refuted. It is difficult to see why the historian would have referred to a much older song at 31, lS, 10, bypassing the obvious. And all the less so,

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[1] **O. v. Wilamowitz** in **E. Norden, Agnostos Theos 392.**

than the song of 207, which was likewise linked to the offering of a gift to Juno Regina and also, at least originally, represented the proclamation of an An drogynos, is much more similar to that of 200 than to the Säknlarlied, which was addressed to two quite different deities and also owed its performance to a different origin.

On the other hand, there is one point of view which can undoubtedly be cited in favour of Cichorius' view and which he himself has already mentioned in this sense. We mean the 'fact that Livins, shortly before he mentions the *palrum memoria* composed by Livius Andronicus, twice explicitly refers to the events of 207, but here uses a different and unmistakable expression: (27, 12, 8) *omnia abominali semimares iussigue in mare e:ste splo deportari, S(6uf proz i me C!. Claudio M. £353O EOH- SttllbttS d0pOrtOtttS SiWilis pr0digii [one eral.* - (9) *decem iri es libris rrs diuinas easdem, guae pro :si me secundum id prodigium faclae essenl, imperarunt.* One sees: Here Livy is well aware of the short time gap between the two events. Accordingly, one certainly has a right to conclude that, even if one could perhaps assume that he could have been mistaken at some point about the size of this distance - that this would be the most unlikely thing, especially in our passage, where he had immediately beforehand realised what was right. Not that he had once made a mistake in his expression, but that he had done so at this particular point, would remain an incomprehensibility that certainly called for an explanation.

According to this, the only option open to us would be that Livius indeed meant a song different from the one presented in 207 - a song that may have been written a not entirely insignificant time ago. It cannot be denied that this view has gained further support from our previous findings. For if we have shown, starting from quite different premises, that a chorus of 27 oeagles had already performed at the secular celebration of 249, then it seems reasonable to attribute Livin's remark to this event, which he had almost certainly reported in his lost account - or to put it another way: with Cichorin's the Livius

Andronicns as the author of the oldest Säknlarlied.

We would like to make our decision with this in mind, but we do not fail to recognise that this d o e s not provide a completely satisfactory solution. But even if one were to disagree with Livius Andronicus, the 'fact remains that a Greek chorus was already being performed in Rome around the middle of the 3rd century. And this 'fact seems more important to us than the question of the author. For at this time - less than a decade before the epochal year 240 - such a chorus could hardly have been composed in anything other than Greek metres. We therefore come to the conclusion that the lyrical verse metres must have been native to Roman soil some time before they appeared in the cantica of the drama. lIt is important to note that the transmission was mediated by the cult. For E. Fränkel[1] has also provided evidence t h a t at least one of the ways in which the verse penetrated Rome w a s via the Knlt for another Greek oefaße, the catalectic trochaic 'fetrameter, which was also adopted by Rome as a trochaic septenary in pre-literary times. It was the songs of the soloists in the triumphal procession where the septenary **w a s** first used, certainly in very ancient times. If we hope to have shown in another place ° a second way, in which the Oscian-Liampanian Atellane played the mediator, our later investigations will show that we are also in the sphere of the cultic with it.

2.

The cultural unity of Italy, which is a consequence of the political unification under Roman rule, represents a relatively late stage of development. Prior to this, there is a series of locally and tribally differentiated individual currents which, the further back one goes, produce a more diverse picture and must be understood in their specificity,

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' **Hermes 62, 357 f.** - Glotta 19, 24 f., esp. 46 f.

if you don't want to run the risk of overlooking the essence of the historical process8'.

It is clear that this diversity is reflected not only in the linguistic and archaeological monuments, but also in the history of religion and worship. If not so long ago it was customary to regard the Italic religions as a mere annex to the Roman one, a change has occurred in recent times in that the paramount importance of the Etruscans for the oldest epochs has been increasingly recognised. However, the question must not be limited to this single direction. Instead, we are now faced with the task of analysing the significance of the other tribes as well - above all that of Rome's great rival, the Oscian-Sabellian tribe. The case we are dealing with offers a first opportunity to do so.

The result will be no less significant than the previous conclusions that we have drawn from the first Säknlarlied of 249 if we now abandon the special focus on Roman conditions and attempt to place our findings in the context of Italian history in general.

To encounter a Greek-style choir in Apulia, which was already Hellenised at an early stage, towards the end of the 5th century is not surprising. All the more reason to emphasise another fact. Weege has placed our fresco, although found in the centre of the Messapian language area and in a city which, despite its Greek coinage, cannot deny its character," in the context of Eastern Greek tomb paintings.* Certainly rightly so, although it may be more obvious to think of the adoption of a foreign model than of a Greek one.

' Dasu II. v. Wilamowitz, Rivista di filologia 1986, 3 f. ; Erinnerungen 860 ¡ Gesch. der Philol. 73.

• Th. Mommsen, Unterital. Dial. 89 f.¡ E. Pais, **Italia** antica 1, **314 f.** ; **for** Ruvo see M. ä t a y e r , Rönn. Mitt. 19, 221¡ E . Ciaeeri, Storia della Magna Greeia I -, 396.

On the name of the *Rubuctini, 'PuQaazi-o-* see W. Schulte, Z. Gesch. latein. Eigenn. 46 ; Ti. Krahe, Die alt. balkanillyr. geogr. Namen 45; 70 ; 104. Ygl. M. Mayer, Apulien 370 ; Not. scar. 1908, 86 f.

* Cautious E. Pagenstecher, Rönn. ätitt. 27, 133, but rg1. E. Pfuhl, Ralerei u. Zeichnung d. Griech. 2, 797.

But the entirely un-Greek character of our depiction already speaks against this: the overlapping of the contours of the individual figures, the impression of unity and class created by this, and at the same time the ornamental design of the whole, not only in the almost stencil-like repetition of the same figure, but also in the fact that the light-coloured trimming stripes on the background of the dark robes look like a regular, deliberate pattern in this regularity'. However, as emphasised earlier by Weege[S] , the lack of ancient funerary painting in Greek Lower Italy speaks against this. Its appearance in Ruvo must therefore be understood as the intrusion of a native Italian custom and our fresco itself as the work of an Oscan artist.

On the basis of this result, the question must be raised as to whether the Apnlean Oscians themselves, whether directly from Taranto or through the mediation of the Hessians, did not receive knowledge of such choirs at the time of the creation of this tomb painting. Admittedly, this assumption requires some caution. For even if our depiction can rightly be regarded as the work of an Oscan artist, it must first be assumed that it is merely the reproduction of a custom indigenous to Ruvo. But one fact points in a different direction: the girls themselves are wearing Oscian costume, the large rectangular envelope skirt and above all the undergarment with the vertical stripes reaching down to the feet "; the same applies to the male figures with their white linen skirts decorated with red trimmings.

' Of course, a more detailed discussion of the stylistic-historical questions cannot be given in this context. Nevertheless, a comparison with Greek depictions of a similar kind will make the daring clearer: Polledrarahydria from Yulei in Inghirami , Yasi fittili 3, t8Y. 254 ; J0l1FIl. Hell. Stud. 1894, pl. 7 ; Corinthian Amphora of Brit. Moses, illus. Vienna. Vorlelegebl. pl. 2 ; rgl. G. Körte, Studien Brunn 28 Anm. 42¡ Attic krater from Palerii bei Purtwiingler-Reichhold 'haf. 17-18.

° arch. Jahrb. 24, 141.

F. Weege, Areh. Jahrb. 84, 1b9 f.; further in M. Lang, Österr. Jahresh. 18, 233 f. ; 23, 303 f. ; I would like to point out that our Praoen wear the , oskische-, not the ‚apnlisehe- lTaartracht (M. Lang, 1. e. 307 f.).

* P. Weege, 1. C. 136 f., 161. With the citharod of our fresco, F. r. Duhn, Ann. dell' Inst. 1879, 126 f. the depiction of a ca-

pian ltnvo, and he could only have done so if the custom he reproduced had penetrated to his own tribesmen, at least to the branch that had gained a foothold on the north-western fringes of Apolia.

On the soil of the Messapian Ruvo, the Greek-Tarentine culture and the incipient Oscan culture thus join hands, as it were. A Greek-style chorus of girls is depicted by an Oscian artist; at the same time it appears to be a firm cultural possession of the Oscians themselves. This corresponds to the cult of the deity to whom the choir of 27 virgins was originally dedicated in Taranto and Rome - Perseplione.

We encounter her name only once within the Oscian cultural circle. The Paelignian poem from Corfinium (Planta 254 ; Conway 216) speaks of a deceased woman having gone *praicinie perseponas*, "into the realm of Persephone", as it has most probably been interpreted.- *The fact that* the adoption of the Greek deity had already taken place in early times is not yet proven by the inscription, which only dates from the Sullanian epoch. But already in the

In the 3rd century the coins of the Messapian metropolis of Arpi, situated towards the Samnite mountains, show the head of the goddess.* Plan would like to believe that ifir Knit had gained an early foothold not only with the 6fessapians themselves, but also with their Oscan neighbours and opponents (Lin. 9, 13 f.). This view is confirmed by the observation t h a t Demeter also found f a v o u r with the Messapians at an early stage. Among the Messapian inscriptions in the archaic alphabet, which

F. Ribezzo - from Vieste snl mare (on the extreme east of the Gargani promontory), no fewer than five dedications to the goddess have been preserved. As far as the reception of the Demeter cult by the Samnites is concerned, we must refer to a later section.

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puan ciste (Monnm. dell' Inst. 11, 6, 1), which points in the same direction.

seems to be leading to a new direction.

' II. Nissen, Italische Landeskunde H S, 842 ¡ 84ii ; M. Mayer, Apulien 85 ; 356. R. Planta, Gramm. d. osk.-umbr. Dial. 2, 660.

• F. Leo, Saturn. Yers 65; F. Bücheler, Rhein. Plus. 33, 271 f. ; Kleine isehriften 2,334. B. Y. Head, liistoria numor. 44.

^ RIOI 8 (1924) 13f. ; cf. J. B. Hofmann, Indog. Jahrb. 11, 326 ; 13, 101.

If we hope to prove that this w a s already the case in Agnone, for example, before the middle of the second century, then it will no longer seem too risky to attribute the tomb painting at Rnvo to the knell of Persephone, who was so closely associated with Demeter.

A *chorus Proserpinae* - for that is what we may now call the fresco by Rnvo - appears among the Oscians as early as the end of the 5th century, or in other words: it appears among them long before it found its way into Rome in the same form through Livin's Andronicns. This fact demands an explanation.

The proximity of Tarent may be pointed out as a not insignificant moment. But this does not get to the heart of the matter. For our observation i s by no means isolated, but fits in with t h e picture we get of the coexistence of the two Italic tribes. Not only in our particular case, but everywhere where cultural matters w e r e c o n c e r n e d, the Oscians were in the lead over Rome for a long time.

Only a few examples can be given here. In order to visualise the entire distance between the two developments, it would suffice to compare the works of Oscan tomb painting with the oldest example in Rome, the Esqniline fresco. And what applies to art also applies to other areas. When Cicero tells of a dialogue by the Tarentine Nearchus, in which the Samnite Pontins, the father of the victor of Candinm, appears alongside Plato and Arehytas (Cato mai. 12), it has been rightly remarked that a Camillus or a Fabricins would hardly have appeared in the same role.Thus the assumption that there were beginnings of an Oscian literature may not be regarded as entirely unfounded, and that the Romans received their iilteate scenic play, the Atellane, from their southern neighbour, has been acknowledged by themselves by the designation as i "di *Osci.* But it should also be pointed out that, as we have tried to show on another occasion, the trochaic tetrameter was first used by the Osci.

' **E. Pfuhl, Ilalerei und Zeichnnng der Griech. 2, 905 f.** ; **ill. 761. P. Marconi, La pittura dei Romani 11 f.** ; **tav.** 1.

° **Th. Mommsen, Unterital. Dialects 117.**

before he w a s accepted by the Romans as a septenary'.

From this point of view, our Monnment is placed in a newer, much more comprehensive context than before. Above and beyond the significance of an isolated testimony to Roman literary history, it becomes an expression of the linear development that the older Italic culture had to travel before it reached i t s climax in Rome.

Uber and Libera

As a result of the preceding investigation, it has become clear that we must reckon with a considerable lead of the Oscian-Sabellian tribes over Rome, especially in the reception of Greek culture. In our case, the adoption of the Persephone cult, Rome's lagging behind can be supported by another observation. For the goddess was, before she nm the 3fitte of the

The name and figure of the i:fersipnai or if'ersipnei are already found in the frescoes of the Tomba dell'Orco in Corneto and the Velier grave in Orvieto. We encounter the name and figure of the *i:fersipnai* or *if'ersipnei* in the frescoes of the Tomba dell' Orco in Corneto and the Velier Tomb in Orvieto, both of which date back to the 4th century, b r i n g i n g us close to the time of the depiction o f Rnvo.

It is thus confirmed f r o m a different angle that Rome is not far behind its neighbouring tribes in the Hellenisation of the Greek. Admittedly, it is not the case that the Greek deity in our case, as we can often observe elsewhere -,

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' Glotta 19, 46 f.¡ Whether and to what extent an Oscan virginal chorus in the Greek style also adopted Greek verse metres i s not even a matter of conjecture today.

° CIE 5091 ; ß u p p l . 1 406 ; also E. Fiesel, Namen d. griech. Mythos im Etrnsk. S3 ; F. Weege, Etrusk. Malerei, pl. 62 ¡ P. Ducati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 2, taY. 183.

• About the Liber see below; I have described other things in my study on 'Grieehische Götter im alten Rom' (Religionsgesch. Yera. u. Vorarb. XXII 1 ; hereinafter referred to as GOiaR).

reached Rome almost through Oscan or Eroskian mediation. However, the priority of the two neighbouring tribes still found its visible expression in the Roman cu1te - in the name of the goddess.

That the name of Proserpina, contrary to the ancient view held by Varro (Varro, de 1. 1. 5, 68 ; August., de civ.
Dei 4, 8 ; 7, 24 ; Arnob. 3, 33) no native, but only
"an addition and Latin adaptation of the Greek word *Meqaz'po'vy"* i s probably recognised today.[1] It is also recognised that the precursors of the Latin transformation are to be sought within the Etrnskian. For etrnsk. *':fersipnai* nnd *Prosepnai* on a mirror from Orbetello (CIL I" 2, 55ß 11, 6720, 15) show the path that the development took - until finally the phonetic harmonisation with *proserpere* added the finishing touch.

Here, too, a picture emerges that fits in perfectly with our view. However, it will be possible to raise an objection to this, and it must be admitted that this objection has a certain weight. Persephone did not only a p p e a r on Roman soil in the 3rd century, but already in the year 496 the triad Ceres, Liber and Libera received a temple ", in which, as the first two members correspond to Demeter and Dionysus, so the third, Libera, corresponds to Persephone or Kora. It would therefore appear that the Roman Knlt may nevertheless claim priority for their introduction.

A more detailed examination is required here, because the facts in this case are different from what we have seen so far. The deviating name for the Greek deity alone shows that we are dealing with a different layer in the reception of the foreign cults.

' G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 310.

° E. Fiesel, 1. c. 116 f ¡ lastly G. Deroto, Studi etruschi 2, 315 f. If he talks about a contrad*rioae *i'tt8Wf Rrabilo YO* l data S10l'*Ci C t*t@tt*#ltCl kl8QC (cf. p. 317), I hope to have solved the difficulties by my explanations.

• The surviving date has recently been questioned ron Schur, ltE 13, 71f. According to this, the introduction of the cult of Apollo should h a v e been possible only after t h e middle of the 5th century, and the introduction of the Triad, since it was based on the Sibyllines, should have been even later. I believe that the reference to the Apollo of Yeii alone should **suffice** as a **counter-instance**; for the rest, cf. 168 f.

must. This is because, unlike Proserpina, the original name has not been preserved (albeit in a later transformation), but Persephone bears an Italic name from the very beginning. In fact, there is a time span of over two centuries between the reception of Proserpina on the one hand and that of that triad on the other. The same period also separates - as a historical hiatus - the series of Greek gods received at the time of the end of the kingdom and the beginning of the republic from a second, later layer that begins around the year 300. From the outset, therefore, we are confronted with a significantly different situation and will therefore discuss the question of the priority of the Oscan or Roman cult separately from our previous findings. The other deities of the Roman triad must also be taken into account, especially the one whose name is derived from the same root - Liber.

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According to the previous view, Liber was originally an Italic god. Together with Libera, he formed one of those pairs that were characteristic of ancient Roman religion in general (cf. Fannns-Fauna, Cacus-Caca)." It was only later that he was equated with Dionysus. The time for this was the introduction of the aforementioned Triad; at the same time Libera had become the Greek Kore or Persephone.

A number of reasons have been given for the fact that Liber belongs to Italy and not to Greece. If the Liberalia of 17 March were consecrated to him and his comrade in the old sweeping calendar, this8 alone shows that we are dealing with ancient native deities. Furthermore, it is still possible to recognise the nature of the Roman *Liber paler*. Like Jnppiter Liber, from whom he had become detached in the course of time, he must originally have been the "creator and giver".

' G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 51.

° Ii. Wissowa in Roscher 2, 2022 f. ; Gesammelte Abhandl. 168 f.; RuKdR ' 138 ; 298 f. ; Schur, RE 13, 68 f. ; L. Deubner in Ghantepie de la Saussaye 2, 440.

• G. Wissowa, RuKdR ° 28 ; 26.

was "the great god of nature who endowed all life with fruitfulness". For according to Varro (in Augustus, De civ. Dei 7, 21) he rained cattle and fields with good (prosperity, as well as the Aephaeans themselves, whose marital intercourse was attested to be under the protection of Liber and Libera (1. c. 6, 9 ; 7, 2 ; cf. anth 3 ; 16 ; 4, 11). It must also be connected with this side of the god that the boys were given the *toga pura,* the man's costume, at the Liberalia (Cie., ad Att. 6, 1, 12 ; Ovid., fast. 3, 771 f.) ; the Liberalia were, as Bommsen once put it, the "festival of the blessing of children". Finally, the Phallosknlt, common throughout Italy, especially in Lavininm, shows that it was a god of fertility ; the Lavinian celebration, as we are told, was *pro eoentibus* se "iiauiii, nm to keep the *{ascinatio* away from the fields (Varro at August., 1. c. 7, 21; cf. Plin., n. h. 19, 50). Liber, on the other hand, only acquired a special relationship to wine through its equation with Dionysus.

In addition, two other customs have been handed down for the Liberalia, which are also thought to belong to the cult of the ancient Roman god. One is the custom of *in publico discumbere* of which Tertnllian (Apol. 42) speaks; another is the institution that the priestesses of Liber, old women, publicly offered up sacrificial cookies (like), of which they sacrificed the first piece to the god on a small hearth they had brought with them (Varro, de 1. 1. 6, 14 ; Ovid., fast. 3, 725 f.).

If we look at these arguments, which have been able to retain their validity up to the most recent times, we cannot help but be somewhat surprised that they have not been recognised for what they really are - the most concise confirmation imaginable that Liber could only have been about Dionysus himself from the outset. Let us begin with one detail, the £'eilhalten of the sacrificial cakes: we know of various forms of cakes that play a role in the cult of Dionysus, such as the "sp "nzop, which is mentioned among the gifts given to the children by the Choen, or the ürzpisor, of which Hesych

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' Rönn. Gesch. 1, 161.

• Cr. **van Iloorn,** De **Rita atque cnltn puerornm, Diss. Amsterd. 1909, 84f.** . **L. Deubner, Archaeol. Jahrb. 1927, 185.**

reported.' We learn of the custom of burning the sacrificial flatbread (rreJnro9) on another occasion: Enrip., Ion 706 ; Troad. 1063 ; Hel. 1334 ; Aristoph., Plnt. 661 - to name just a few passages. The Roman custom could therefore be an originally Greek one °, and indeed Ovid suggests that it must be connected with Dionysus (fast. 3, 727 f.). Varro provides the most biblical confirmation when he speaks of the *sacerdotes Liberi anus edera coronalae.* For it is impossible to ignore the symbol of Dionysus in the ivy. In particular, we know it from the Attic Knlte er Nfyroi, w h e r e the yspoipa' or yJpop'n, the "ladies of honour", assisted Basilinna in her priestly functions." *The* yepnipni appear on the vase paintings in ivy jewellery, mixing the wine in front of the image of the god.

The situation is no different with public revelry. It Suffice it to recall Aristophanes' description of the Choen feast (Ach. 1000 f. ; 1084 f.). The Qn ltü; invites you to the public banquet and provides everything you need: a camp, wreaths, ointments and uoproi. Here, too, a number of pastries and cakes play a role (Ach. 1092)

ö v2ot ulozo0vre e tm oiirzc (s an

Even during the subsequent drinking contest such a Prize (Phanodemos fr. 13, FGH 1, 368).

Similarly, the boys and the youth in general are most closely associated with the Dionysian festivals. At the Lenaeen the §neiZeü9 organises an Agon of the Ephebes (CIA 3, 1160), at the Choen the children from three years upwards appear crowned - and the teachers invite their Schiller, from whom they have just received their fee (Athen. 10, 437 D.). G. van Hoorn has compiled other things in which the boys are at the centre; - it suffices here to have referred to them.

The fact that in Rome the local custom of putting on the toga

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' Chr. A. Lobeck, Aglaophamos 2,1070. -Orth, RE 11, 2095. Demosth., c. Neaer. 78; Poll. 8, 108 ; liesych. etym. Bagn. liarpokr. s. r- <•ᵣ•e•‹- On the form of the name see W. Schulte, Qnaest. ep. b01 f.

• A. Frickenhaus. Lenäeuvasen (Berl. Winkeln. Progr. 1912) 12 ¡ W. Wrede, Athens. Mitt. 53, 81; cf. 86 fig. 3.

° Preller-Robert, Oriech. Mythol. 1, 672; Stiller von Gärtringen, RE 1, 2373.

• 1. e. 83-90.

The fact that the boys transferred the Liberalia to the Liberalia seems to fit in perfectly with Greek customs.

Finally the fertility god. Varro (in Angust., De civ. Dei 7, 21) speaks of him as the, mern iiguidis *seminibus ac per hoc non solum liguoribus fructuum, guorum guodam modo pri- matum uinum te,neI, herum eliam seminibus animalium prae(ecerunl.* We have no right to infer from this a special function of Liber that would distinguish him from Dionysus and prove his Italic character. For it has long been noted[1] that a remark by Plutarch corresponds exactly to the first part (det Iside etc Osiride 35): *ct ö'o?*

ἡγοῦνται κύριον καὶ ἀρχηγόν, ἀρκεῖ Πίνδαρος μάρτυς εἶναι λέγων

That this relationship to vegetation is not isolated is shown by the designation of Dionysus as noZry'i#en zapao di§nir (Orph. hymn. 49, 4) nnd as *äe§icpmoq* (Nonn. 7, 304). The remark of Aelian (var. hist. 3, 41) also belongs here: **"Ort zo noZv'tnpneir or 'ip2öioi** 'iirdya§or 'AZtisc . **srzefiPsr vor**

'Oy'f'azlzyv* ani kJpo my *dtagoqoq - then also the Dionysus 'PZeü9 (Herodian. 1, 400, 27 L.), **'Pleo9** in Ephesos (Wood, Discov. at Ephes. inscr. city nr. 13), "oritp'Ir at Hesych and the testimony of Plntarch for the Dionysos Photos (Symp. 5, 8, 3).

Finally, as r e g a r d s the honouring of the Liber in the Phallos, his procession in chariots through the entire field and no crowning by a matron at the market, as reported for Lavininm by *Jta9itiosissima* Varro (in Augustus, De cir. Dei 7, 21), there is a wealth of similar evidence for Dionysus, de cnp. div. 8 (is "o'n di o' 'pd2lo9); famous is the scene in Aristophanes' Acharnes with the imitation of a phallic ballad (261f.); of the phallophores in Sikyon

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[1] F. A. Yoigt, Roscher 1 1, 1060.

F. A. Voigt, 1. c. 1062 f. ; Preller-Robert, 1. c. 1, 718 note 4 ; $ern, RE b, 1042 ; for Athens the testimonies are comprehensively treated ron E. Buschor, Athen. Mitt. S3, 48f.

and Delos and their 'poZl'z'i speaks Semos near Athens. 14, 621 F f. On the Phallos in Argos cf. 2, 49, at Rhodes Athens. 10, 445 B, in Athens CIA 2, 321 b 7 ; the colonists of Brea had to deliver a phallos to Athens every year (Dittenb., Syl1.° 19 a). A Dionysos 'PoZZijr appears in Methymna Paus. 10, 19, 3 ; a Dionysos i 'ip2y9 at Samos nnd Lesbos (Hesych ; Lykophr. 212 n. Schol.) ; a Dionysos 2oipo/'iZo; in Polemon fr. 72, FGH 3, 13ü ; Schol. Aisch. Pers. 10ö4. Because of the teasing at the Lavinian procession, reference may be made to the same custom among the Choen (ert wir 'ipo§u").'

There seems to be a slight difference in that the phallos of Dionysus was usually carried around in a zoroü, whereas Varro attests a chariot procession for Lavinium *(lurpe membrum . . plostellis impositvm prius rufe in compilis el usgue in urbem postea nectabatur).* But for Delos, R. Vallois " has made it more likely that the oyoZyo of Dionysus, which was carried on a chariot in the festival procession, was a phallos.

One last point remains to be discussed - the assertion that Liber only acquired a special relationship to viticulture through its equation with Dionysus. Here, too, we have evidence that can prove the opposite with some certainty: the high Aarean Ceres inscription (CIE 8079), which probably dates from the 6th century, i.e. the time before the alleged first introduction of Dionysus. We need not go into the numerous riddles it contains; we are only interested in the first line, which, according to Herbig's last reading, reads: *ceres : [ar Jeff [erc]tom : lbo]y(J0I -- "L-!-J- .]douJ Jad "die*
Earth (Cerea) is said to contain spelt flour, honey, barley cakes, wheat 1" It has been objected that Cereg gives full hens, but not ready-made cakes, nor honey. That this objection defines her divine sphere of activity too narrowly, that Ceres could very well be regarded as the giver of these

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' The testimonies in L. Deobner, Arch. Jahrb. 1927, 176.

• BCii 46, 94 f. ; L. Deubner, 1. e. 175.

• On the dating of Gamurrini in G. ßerbig, Tituli Faleriorum veternm p. 22 (r. Sp. ob.) ¡ cf. G. lierbig, Glotta 12, 232.

• The literature now in E. Stolte, Glotta ö7, 106. • Glotta 12, 233.

• Th. Yetter, €'lotta 14, 27 f.

We will see later when we talk about Anna Perenna and Flora and the festival associated with her, Florifertum. But that the **lou[om approach* for Iiòum "Gerøtenfladoß" is very questionable, indeed impossible, is proven by the parallels from the other Indo-European languages: got *hlai[s,* ahd. *lileib, leib,* altbulg. càleò i., which would have to lead to an approach falisk *foi/o "i; the assumption of an "inverted spelling" ', on the other hand, means a desperate answer. Thus the production proposed and justified by Th. Vetter: *I fo]u[girı •*ı• o]m Jdo"]iad "Mber inum*
dust' would appear to be a decisive factor. This would already be the case for the

In the 6th century there was a relationship between the Liber and wine. And what will soon only apply to Falerii cannot b e denied significance for neighbouring Rome.

In addition, t h e r e is a branch of the local cult that g i v e s the impression of great antiquity: Paul. test. p. 319 M. *socrima appellabant muslum,* gtiod *Libero sacrificabant pro duets cl oasis eł ipso* vitio *conser "andis ;* sicid *praemelium de spicis, gvas primum messuissent, sacri icabanl C!ereri.* Y'f the *proemelium is* recognised as belonging to the oldest cult of the Peres, the same will also be the case for the *sacrima* of the Liber ; that it must b e a late custom - is, on the other hand, not to be understood. For the fact that the word is quite old is already suggested by the stem formation, which is without analogy and not yet entirely clear. And what applies to the word may also apply to the rite it denotes.

If we survey the results so far, we must conclude that none of the arguments that have been put forward in favour of the existence of an indigenous god Liber has proved anything. On the contrary, if they speak in favour of any fact, it is rather for something quite different

— the complete identity of the Roman pot with Dionygos'.

' G. Herbig, Tit. Tal. vet. 24. ° G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 194.

° G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 308.

• M. Neumann in Stolz-Schmalz, Lat. Gramm.° 221 [If *briima* (from *brcyioiñ: K.. Götze, Indog. Forsch. 41, 117) øprachlich und aachlich (suletst E. Norden, Die Geburt des $indes 18 Anm. 4) this means breciøøimo, so sacrima could correspond to *øacerrima.* K.orr. Not.]

° I must a d h e r e to this view in contrast to WiøSoWa's treatment (in Roscher II p. 2083), according to which Pliniuø, nat. hİßt. 88, 39 a

Llamit the old and also by their opponents as "be-" ' recognisedversion, according to which the name of Liber is merely a translation of the Greek *analogue* Nti "os or 'AJer#epios -, again gains in importance. This view would of course, as has also already b e e n noted *, presuppose that Juppiter Liber, in whose epithet the same designation recurs, was identical with Zeus 'A1rr#?pio9. Forcan be no doubt of a mutual relationship between the two Roman deities, just as there can be no doubt of that between the twoGreek ones. Moreoverthis coexistence recurs among the neighbouring Sabines, where, in addition to the worship of Liber (Serv. in Verg, Georg. 1, 7), there is also one for the eponymous Jnppite (Dessau 306s). Stan argued that his identification with Zeus 'Altv#ip'os was "probably not a reflection of the original nature of the cult". Rather, the adjective *liber* contains "the concept of creative fullness", and that is why Liber, who was detached from the supreme god to exist independently, could later be identified with Dionysus.* Does Liber really belong to the *libare I+i)ni,* IoiQ j, thus to a root **body-,* as this was meant ? ^ We hope that this view can be refuted as succinctly as possible. The Oscan inscription Planta 206, Conway 191 gives nns *Su "eis Lu'"[reis* Gen. Sing. by which no one else can be understood than Juppiter Liber - the Crott who, according to \Vissowas believed to have given our Liber its name. finr confirmation, it suffices t o recall the veneration of this Juppiter in the immediate neighbourhood, where he is encountered not only among the Sabines but also among the Vestines (CIL 9, 3513) and the Campanians (CIL 10, 3786). Thus the name is to be placed with falisk *loferta,* osk. *lu[rikünuss, pdf. loufir,* lat. *liber,* gr. eZetiPrpoy - zn. And this rules o u t any possibility of finding the Jnppiter

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independent Italic **phallic cult is proven. I** have **the** question on **other** Places treated: GGiaR 48f., especially $1f. ' G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 299.

• Graßmann, $uhns **Zeitschr.** 16, 107 ; V. liahn, Rnlturpfl. u. Itanst.- **73;** 0. Gilbert, Gesch. n. Topogr. d. St. Rom 8, 209 f.; B. Reitzenstein, **Epigr.** n. gkolion216. -G. Wissowa, BuKdR 120.

• O. Wissowa, RuKdR - 120; Roscher H 2, 2022 f.; Schnr, RE 13, 68.

• F. Muller, Altital. Wörterb. 234.

• F. Bücheler, **Leaic. Italic. XTl** ¡ F. **Muller,** 1. e. **245** ; A. Ernout, Les éléments dialeetaux ii7.

Liber and our eponymous God as an ancient Italian lord and giver of creative abundance.

The linguisticresult isconfirmedby the literary evidence. Twicethe name of Juppiter Liber is rendered by 'Aisr#?pio9 (Mon. Anc. gr. 10, 11; CIL 3 Snppl. 14203 -) ; next to it is the designation as Juppiter Libertas (CIL 11, 6ö7 ; 14, 2579 ; Mon. Inc. 4, 6) and as Jnppiter Liberator (Tac., Ann. lö, 64 ; lö, 3S ; Fast. Philoc. 13. and 18. Oct.), which cannot be misunderstood and shows that the god wasidentical with the Greek one. Ifcan also be argued that a goddess of freedom Libertas detached herself from Juppiter to become an independent existence', then we see nothing more that can be argued against our interpretation.

The situation is similar with the Liber. The old image of Marsyas on the Forum comes into consideration here, of which coin images and the so-called Anaglypha Traiani show that it w a s a Silen carrying a battle." This has always been associated with the note that Liber was the *signum* /iöeroe *ci "itatis*: in *liberis ci "itatibus simulacrum Marsyae erat,* goi in *tulela Chert patris est.* So Servins to Verg., Aen. *3,* 20 ; correspondingly it is said in 4, 58 of the god that he is *apte urbibus libertatis . . deus; unde eliam* ***Marsyas,*** *eins minisler, est in ci "i- tambus in foro posilus libertalis indicium,* got *ereclatestatur* ai£ii urbi *deesse.* T h e appearance of the image of Marsyas on imperial coins from eastern cities in no way proves that the custom was only recent. This eliminates any need for us to see in the fact that the Liber was associated with the Libertas only a "very superficial mythological gimmick". On the contrary: this fact fits in perfectly with our previous findings; in addition, the figure of Silen8 provides a recognisable relationship to Dionysus, which is all the more significant as he himself, like Zeus 'Altv#ipioS, appears as a liberator and saviour, and also as the guarantor of civil freedom."

The connection between Liber and the eponymous Juppiter is therefore far removed from the original identity with

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' **G. Wissowa, RuK.dR - 138.**

• **li. Jordan, Topogr. d. St. Rom** 1 **2, 2ß4 f.** ; **403** ; **Bursian's Jahresber** 1 1873, 75ii f. ; Jessen b. Rosetten II 2, 8444 f.

0. group, Greek. Bythol. 1432 note 3.

Dionysus. Rather, it must be cited almost as a zengni8 for the equation Liber 'A1ev#Jpioi;. The name of the Italic Dionysus thus bears a relationship to that of the supreme god, as is evident not only in 'Al "r#ip'os, but also in dbo-rrno9 itself, the "son of Zeus". The fact that the Roman side also felt an affinity with Joppiter is evident from the date of the Liberalia, which immediately follow the Ides of March, i.e. a Juppiter day (17 March). However, another question i s much more difficult. The epithet of 'Aler#Jpio9 occurs in a whole series of references to Zeus, but only twice for Dionysus." Otherwise this god is always called 'A1tr#epeü9 - with a single exception to be discussed shortly - and here does not mean what the Latin name suggests, but merely denotes his origin from the Knltorte Eleutherai. And a further difficulty may be added here. The name 'fi1tr#ipios itself does not quite correspond to that of the Liber, whose correlate is rather a *'A2rii#epo5 would be. That this incongruity was felt must be taught by the observation that in later times not only Liber, but also Libertas and Liberator are encountered as epithets of Jnppiter. Thus the incongruity between Jnppiter Liber and Zeus 'A1cv#ipio9 was felt and an attempt was made to eliminate it by subsequent harmonisation.

If our identification is really correct, there would have to have been a Zeus on the Greek side.

'ElcüPeqoq and an I)ionysos *'A1r*#epos. At least in the second case the required form 'MJ.eü- PepoS is preserved in Heaych ; he gives the explanation: diorv "os er 'ü@rots zer er 'AZer#epoii;. Without exception, it has so far been c a s t aside as implausible. But is it really as completely unthinkable as has been claimed ? On the contrary, we believe that it can still be shown here that an old and remarkable tradition has been preserved.

First a general consideration. If it is correct what we said before, that the name 'Hempel's to the God of

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' P. **Kretschmer,** Aua der Anomia **22f.** ; **Kern, RE b, 1011; most recently Jessen, RE 5, 2348 f.**

• **lrnob., adv. g. 6,** 83¡ **on the other occurrence of the name Preller- Robert, Oriech. Mjrthol. 1, 667 note 1.**

Elentherai, it was obvious that Dionysus could not be called that in this place of his birth. For the name nnr makes sense there, where the god w a s transferred from his original seat, in Athens.

In Elen- therai, on the other hand, he may have had a different name and may very well have been called 'A2e*#rpoç'. Yet another consideration must be taken into account. The knltname 'AZer#čpioç, which we h a v e already mentioned, cannot be a derivation of *'£îevUcqai* ; it would have to be, if not *'£'ic "Hcq+ćs,* then at least 'Altr#tpa'o9 (Steph. Byz. p. 2òò, 1ò f.). Here, therefore, only a basic form 'Aleč#epoç comes into question; the names then behaved like the corresponding adjectives or like *liber* and *tiberalis.* In other words: the existence of a name that was previously in doubt 'AJtč#Jpio9 would presuppose that of 'AZeć#cpoç geradezn.

The place name 'AJerJtpo* itself is then of the greatest significance." Usener already wanted to derive it " from the name of a goddess 'AJer#ćpo. The place names on -" belong in a whole series of cases to feminine names of persons and gods: 'N#§r'n - 'A@ y , Jo no/ - Zfóiria, *Hó'viat , Mèlaivat* - Demeter 3fš7. "i o, "AZn2zo¿'ern* - Athena *'AZoJxopčro (vg1. 'AJnZzoytryfi;).* In the[m] at we often encounter an 'Alrr#čpa, although not in Athens, but in Lycia.- But since it i s a Greek name,

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' H. P. Nilsson (Neue Jahrb. 27, 68a) believes that the Attic Eleuthereus w a s called Melanaigis in his homeland. If this assertion were t r u e , however, our above-mentioned assumption would be invalid. Now the r.xiatens of a flionysos ătelanaigis in Eleutherai is by no means to be disputed. But there is not the slightest evidence that the Elenthereus goes back to him ¡ cf. the remark by U. r. Wilamowitz', 1. c. 29, 473.

• Ancient scholarship derived it from 'i=ó ñl*v@ᵣ os zoo Úndlżmros (Steph. Byz. 265, 10), who is said to have presented the first image to Dionyeos (Tiygin., rab. 225). In addition, Schol. to llesiod., Theog. 54 *Çowoto-v EIeu0Spec)* remarks that ñ2rvûjp was the name of a mountain t h a t coincided with that of the Heros: - o-r ó *O-ó-"aoc xi¡c parias -="î'iax- xai fll-"9-pd'by.* Others again spoke of a Boeotian city N2ev@o (cf. also Etym. Magn. ø. r.), about whose identity with '£ź-v9-*n/ we can claim nothing. It was thought to be the foundation of a son of Lycaon, who had been spared from the judgement of Zeus (Plut., Quaest. Graec. 39) ¡ cf. Preller-Robert, Griech. Mythol. 1, 129 note 3.

• Names of the gods 234. - P. Kretsehmer, Einltg. Gesch. gr. Spr. 418 f.

• lessen, RE 5, 2344 f. ; K. Latte, lteiliges Recht 78 Arim. 44 ; L. Robert, Rer. de l'liist. des Religions 98, 1929, 56 d.

she will probably have come from the ötterland. So a goddess from Asia Minor was identified with a Greek goddess. We can still establish this in one individual case: The place Erenates is said to have received its name ö o 'Apev "9 z 9 xci 'hev- **#?pap** (Steph. Byz. 276, 10) ; the goddess was thus sometimes c a l l e d by her native name, sometimes by that of the Greek deity equated with her.' When it is said that the Lycian **'AitcPtpo'** was called **r'ros** Opgys (Steph. Byz. 265, lIi), the conclusion is obvious that the Attic-Boerotian place also received its name from the same source, and that there w a s therefore once a nymph or goddess 'AJtr9Zp' there too.

This confirms that the god of Eleutherai must originally have been called 'A1sü#epos. For a pair of ***'ELt?Psqoq - '£lev0éqa,*** as it has now been revealed to us, can be described as the most probable according to the whole situation. This is all the more likely because it i s not only the model for the Roman Liber, but also for the Libera.* They formed a pair, and the fact that the feast of Liberalia w a s common to both is explicitly attested by the explanatory sentence of the Fasti Caeretani: *Liibero Lib(erae).*

T h i s should also clarify the Greekorigin ofthename of theRoman Liber. Finally, a reference to Etrnria. *Fufluns* - Dionysus also appears associated with a female deity on the pediment of the aedicula of Vnlci.[s] Perhaps it is an Etrnskian analogue of Libera, perhaps also of Ariadne, who was once encountered together with him on a mirror * and was virtually equated with Libera in Roman literature according to Orid (fast. 3, 512) (Plin., nat. higt. 36, 29 ; Hygin., fab. 224).' In any case, it is already evident here that the Etruscan cult of Dionysus

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' Jessen, 1. c. 2344 et seq.

• I owe this realisation to **a tip from** Walter F. Otto.

• Durm , Baukunst der **Etrusker u.** Rönn.- 80 f.¡ flg. 90¡ L. Pernier, Ausonia 9, 52 ; P. Dueati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 1, 479 ¡ 8 tar. 286 f1g. 558 ; L. A. Milani, des. topogr. dell' **Etruria 110.**

* Gerhard, **Etrusk.** Spiegel 4, 299.

• G. Wissowa in Roscher II 2, 2029.

is a parallel to the Roman one; we will have to deal with this fact in a moment.

2.

The fact that Dionysus did not only find his way into Latinm in the year 496, but even earlier, can be shownin a further point. Theantefixes of temples, as found in Satricum, Signia and Velitrae, show heads of satyrs in an Arehaic design that can still belong to the end of the 6th century. There are also similar examples in Falerii (temple 'ai sassi caduti'), which suggest that all these pieces are from southern Etruria. Furthermore, among the antefixes of Satricnm there are also groups of satyrs and maenads, which are to be dated only a little later.- Around the turn of the century, therefore, the following of Dionysus was already presentin the Knnat in fixed types of representation. Thissuggests that the god himself was already known at that time - and had been for some time. Thefact thatthe conclusion is also valid for Rome can be seen from the fact that the excavations on the Palatine Hill have unearthed a similar piece (satyr's head)."

This brings us to the chronological question. We have already briefly touched on the decisive point here - we mean the affiliation of the Liber to the oldest Roman festival order. Starting from the view that it must have contained only genuine Roman gods, one tends to see in the fact that the Liberalia appear in this festival order incontrovertible proof that the god himself could not have been Greek. Nevertheless, the reference to the occurrence of feast and god in the most ancient Roman calendar is hardly sufficient to prove its original Italic character. For the fact that a Greek god had become clear to us elsewhere in Volcanng within that area - must be

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' E. Douglas man Buren, Figurative Terra-cotta reretments in Etruria and Latium 9 f.

• P. Ducati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 2 tav. 95 fig. 2b9-260 ; A. della **Seta, 3toseo di Villa** Oiulia **tav. L-LI.** ° **Not.** scar. 1907, 453 fig. 25.

* GGiaR 1'72 f., esp. 196 f.

already warn against a premature conclusion about the Italic origin of Liber. Moreover, in this case - as was possible with Volcanns - it can be shown that the Greek god was received not only in Rome but also in Etrnria in very ancient times - at a time even earlier than the Roman reception. We believe that we have shown on another occasion that the Etrnskian Populonia around the turn of the 8th century was a centre of Greek reception.

It was thought that the city was founded in the 7th century and that the foundation of this city (which bears the /ti$ons Dionysus in its name) coincides with the reception of the Naxian cult of Dionysus.[1] Thus, a cult of the god would have already existed in Etruria around 700 - a few decades after the time when it first gained a foothold within the Italian region with the foundation of the Sicilian Naxos.

It seems reasonable to conclude that Dionysus, as we know of many other Greek gods, came to Rome through Etruria, i.e. through the mediation of the neighbouring people to the north, who had a higher cultural status in older times. But this result would not be particularly likely. Quite apart from the fact that in both cases we are dealing with different Greek cults as starting points - here the Boeotian-Attic Eleutheros , there the Naxian Dionysos - there is no particular correspondence on the Italic side either, neither in the name nor in particular facts of the knot that could suggest a closer historical connection.

This leaves only one other possibility. It is well known that the Romans' first contact with Greek civilisation, apart from the Etruscans, was brought to them by the Oscans,

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' **GGiaR 200 f.** - The **attempt to** F. Sehachermeyrs **(Etrusk. Frühgeschichte 122 f.),** who **assumed that Populoniaa was founded by the immigrating Etruscans around 1000-950 BC. Even if this assumption proves to be correct, I would not like to place the naming of the city, which presupposes the reseption of the Naxian cult of Dionysus, in** this **period. Schachermeyr discusses in another** Estelle **(1.** e. **510)** the **passage of Serviuss, Aen. 10, 172 and believes that on the basis of it** he can **assume a wide foundation of the city.** It **could roughly coincide with our assumption.**

On the following: J. B. Hofmann, Festschrift Streitberg 370f., where the more recent literature is cited.

who first came into contact with it in Campania. The Greek loan words that found t h e i r w a y into the Latin language through Oscan mediation show us this path. In our case, too, the surviving evidence seems to p o i n t in this direction, despite its sparseness and fragmentary nature. It is already striking that the god is attested among the Sabines ' ; we should also recall his appearance on a preenestine cista (CIL 14, 4105). Above all, Juppiter Liber, whose relationship to our god we had previously considered, shows a corresponding area of distribution: in addition to the Sabines, he is encountered among the Vestines (Fnrfo CIL 9, 3513), the Frentans (Planta 206 ; Conway 191) and finally in Capua (CIL 10, 3786).

Perhaps we can analyse the facts from a different perspective. even more clearly. The city of Kyme, which was the earliest Greek foundation on Italian soil, m u s t be named as the ancient starting point of Greek influence in Campania. The history of the city itself shows that it must have acted as a mediator in our case, that it must have transplanted the legacy of the Boeotian-Attic Dionysus from Elentherai to Italy. The Chalcidian Hippocles is regarded as its founder; in addition, not only Eretria and the rest of Euboia were involved, but perhaps also colonists from the Boeotian Tanagra. This would give a smooth result from this side. At least we see no difficulty in assuming that it was these 'Fanagraeans w h o brought the Knlt of Dionysus from their neighbouring city of Elentherai to Italy. The fact that they had a relationship with the saint himself is, moreover, explicitly limited. The hero Eleuther, the alleged

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' **about sabin.** ***£oeba8i4J8*** (Sem. Dan. in Verg., **Georg. 1, 7), older** ***£oebe8us*** **(Paul. Fest. p. 121** M.) **and** ***Libo88iH8*** **(Placid., Gorp. gloss. lat. ii, 30, 9) cf. 0 A. Danielsson** , **Altital. Stud. 4, 158 f.** ; **A. Ernont** , Les élém. **dial. 57** ; B. Neumann in Stolz-Schmals, Lat. Gramm. 140 note 1.

• **E. Meyer deduces this from the 'Phratry of the Eunostides in Kyme's daughter city Naples, which was named after the lleroa Eunostos of Tanagra (Plut., Qn. gr. 40)" (GdA S, 472 f.)** ; **further details in L. Malten, Kyrene 79.** The **name of the** Troeci (E. 3feyer, 1. e.) **is known to have** found **a somewhat different explanation**: **II. v. Wilaoiowits, iiermes 21, 113 f. ¡ further literature RE 7, 1693** f. **¡ most recently iT. Krahe, Altillyr. Personennam. 98** ; **A. Jacobsohn, Zeitschr. f. dergl. Spraehwiss. iiö, 37.**

Founder of Elentherai and His Dionysosknltes (p. 26 note 2), was a previous year of Poimandres, the founder of 'fanagra (Paus. 9, 20, 2).

We therefore come to the conclusion with some probability that the Greek god m a d e his way into Rome from Kyme through the mediation of the Oscian-Sabellian tribes. This explains his presence in the oldest order of the gods, as recorded in the stone calendars. Just like the other Greek god who was accepted here, such as Yolcanns Hephaestus, Liber was also initially perceived and adopted as an Italic god.

Finally, the question remains as to when Dionysus was received by the Oscans and in Rome. In itself, it seems, there is a wide margin of manoeuvre upwards. For the Etrnskian parallel we have drawn on, the founding of Popnlonia and the transmission of the Naxian Dionysosknlt , led to the beginning of the 7th century. For, as we have tried to show elsewhere, it i s possible that the Etruscans themselves brought the Knlt with them when they migrated westwards from their homeland. This is therefore a peculiarity t h a t cannot easily be compared with our case. On the other hand, we are given a handle from other sides. On the one hand, the occurrence of the Liber in the oldest festival order means a fixed date which, in our opinion, does not allow us to go back beyond the first half of the 6th century. The reception of the god could therefore have taken place around the beginning of the century. Another consideration prohibits going much further.

For those who have followed the previous explanations, the objection may have arisen more than once as to whether such an early adoption of a Boeotian-Attic cult is probable. One would rather expect Ioniseh- Asia Minor influences for this period, as /u/lotis-Dionysos of Popnlonia and the se4ioas-Hephaistos there clearly p o i n t in this direction. But there is a parallel which, if

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GGiaR 36 f.

[1] GGiaR 204 f.

it comes from another field, can be used here. We are referring to the history of Greek vase production. The beginning of the 6th century or even the end of the 7th century is the time when Attic (and Attic-Boerotic) black-figured vessels b e g a n to compete in export with the Corinthian and Ionian wares, which until then had dominated almost unrestrictedly. [i] The export of Vorva vessels to the East belongs to this period; on the other hand, the early Attic Gorgon pot of the "Lonvre" originates from Italy, where Etruria and, next to it, Campania now form the main centre of Attic wares. From the beginning of the 6th century, Cyme in particular became clear as an export centre for the older black-figure vase art of Attic and Attic-Boerotic provenance through the summarising studies of (Iäbrici.

For the reception of Eleuthereus in Italy, this would be an approximate time reference is given. Two further observations in the cultic field are consistent with this. Let us remember that the Doric temple on the Forum Triangulare of Pompeii belongs to the 2nd half of the 6th century. According to this, the Greek cult had already penetrated the Campanian city to such an extent that the gods' house was built in the Greek style. This presupposes a longer and more sustained influence of this cult on the Italic population. Another thing is even more important. The ancient Campanian custom of burial, as it appears in the pre-Greek tombs of Kyme, Capua, Nola and Suessnla, was increasingly restricted in the 6th century by Greek cremation, until the invasion of the Samnites in the 2nd half of the 5th century, when the national custom regained its lost ground.

' E. Buschor, Griech. Yasenmalerei - 121 f.

• E. Bnschor, 1. c. 69 fig. 50.

The necropolis of Fratte (Prov. Salerno), whose tombs date from the 6th century to the 5th century, can now be firmly dated. From the beginning it showed a strong predominance of Attic wares over Corinthian wares (E. Boehringer , Areh. Anz. 1929, 129 f.). In contrast, compare the necropolis of S. bfarzano in the Sarnot Valley. Its jiingsn layer extends as far back as the 7th century and shows only Corinthian wares of Greek import (E. Giaceri, Storia della Magna Grecia 1 356 note 1). - Mon. Linc. 28, 484 f.

conquered'. This is a concrete example of the significance and the advance of the Greek Knlt, and it is important that the change begins at about the same time as we have established the invasion of the Dionysus Knlt.

Finally, the last negative aspect is the absence of any traces of the Etruscans. So the adoption of the cult of Dionysus must have taken place before the immigration of this tribe into Cam- pania, i.e. before the 2nd half of the 6th century °.

The view from which w e started at the beginning of this section has been confirmed by the study of Liber and his comrade Libera. I t has also become clear to us that the world of the Greek gods w a s a d o p t e d by the Oscans and - as the example of *fvflun* has shown us - also by the Etruscans long before it reached Rome.

Our previous findings provide the basis for approaching the judgement of the trial of 496.nm Of course, a strange problem immediately becomes apparent here: the Libera, we saw, was the comrade of **Liber,** the local nymph of Eleutherai, who hadcome to Eomat the same time as the god there. So althoughthis name was already used to d e s i g n a t e a certain Greek deity, it w a s nevertheless used in 496 to designate another, Persephone-Kore. The same name therefore belonged to two different and, what i s particularly worth emphasising, two different Greek deities - a fact that can certainly be described as a singularity.

But as strange as this fact may be, the fact that there are two different deities at the same time is quite unrecognisable. To what extent this difference was still perceived in later times is another question. But the fact that the companion of Cerea and Liber, who appears in the Triad of 496, is none other than Persephone cannot be disputed, nor can the fact that she is different from the goddess,

' F. v. Duhn, **Hal.** Gräberk. **1, 553.** **P.** Ducati, **Etruria antica 2, 10** f.

which, together with Liber, is the Liberalia. The original Libera has nothing whatsoever to do with the Lady of the Dead, but is merely the female counterpart of certain characteristics of Liber himself. If, according to Varro, she *[eminarum seminibus praeerat* (August., De civ. Dei 7, 11; cf. 6, 9 ; 7, 2 ; 3 ; lfi), this corresponds exactly to the function possessed by her comrade on the male side.[1] The point is not that two different Greek deities were understood by the Libera, but the extent to which the name could be used for Persephone, although it was already established elsewhere.

A first reason is that libera is an exact translation of the Greek ßopi¡ (cf. the passage to be discussed later, Cie., de nat. deor. 2, 62). But this only says to what extent it was possible to call the Kore Libera at all, but not why this name was chosen, although it would have been possible to use a different name. Here we need to look more closely at the reception of the colt in 496.

That the triad Ceres Liber Libera as such is of Greek origin is already proven by the fact that it was introduced at the behest of the Sibyllines." The fact that in Rome the priestesses of Ceres were mainly brought from Naples and Velia (Cic., pro Balbo 55 Val. Max. 1, 1, 1), i.e. from the Greek cities of Lower Italy, leads in the same direction." The fact that two Greek artists, Gorgasos and Damo philos, worked on the decoration of the temple - the first Greeks to be brought to Rome for such purposes (Plin., n. h. 35, 154) - may also serve as confirmation. In fact, as we have long since seen, we encounter a style that corresponds exactly to our own.

' **It is therefore understandable that Varro** equated this **Libera with** Venus**. from there it is also understandable if Libera was then used as a name for Ariadne (see above** p. **27)**. This **was not only closely connected with Dionysus, but also with Aphrodite (Preller-Robert,** Griech. ßythol**. 1,** 680.). °G. **Wissowa, RuKdR ° 297 f.**

G. Wissowa, **RuKdR - 298 ¡ Whether, of course, Kyme, where we only know sncrn *Ltemetros* from more recent times (CIL 10, 3685), formed the starting point (G. Wissowa, RE 3, 1974), remains doubtful, although it is the ßmother city of** Naples.

trinity in Greek cults, and so it seems that a completely contradictory result can be achieved here·

Nevertheless, the judgement must be somewhat different. Firstly, not all the facts that need to be taken into account have been considered. Certainly, the Triassic temple was decorated by two Greek artists; however, another report states that the temple itself was not built in the Greek style, but according to the basic Tuscan scheme (Vitrnv. 3, 3, 5)." This indicates that, although this is the first time that a liberation from the sole dominance of the Etruscan cult appears, it cannot be denied that it had a certain òlitic influence on the foundation of the ban.

In fact, similar assumptions have long been made, albeit from a different angle." Admittedly, if the bronze liver from Piacenza shows a goddess elottsro next to *fufluns* in the 5th region, and this could then be equated with Ceres, there is still no necessary relationship to the Roman trias of Ceres, Liber and Libera. More important, however, is the other fact that in Etruscan colt, in addition to the well-known celestial trinity of Joppiter, Juno and Minerva, a second, chthonic one appears; P. Dncati ^ has the merit of having pointed this out. On the acropolis of Marzabotto, which dates from the 6th century, two temples of three-celled plan appear side by side, one certainly belonging to the Capitoline trinity, which could not be missing from any Etruscan city complex (Serv. Dan. in Verg. Aen. 1, 422 ; cf. Vitrnv. 1, 7, 1); next to it stands a second, which, as a nearby altar with a *mundus* indicates, was dedicated to chthonic deities. Ducati thought that this was Ceres, Liber and Libera, and that accordingly this trinity had come to Rome from the Etruscans. The

' H. Usener, Rhein. Mus. 58, 2ö.

• G. Wissowa, RnKdR - 298 ; P. Ducati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 1, 86.

• Recently, A. Trombetti, La lingua etrusca 131 in šer/ we aur der ż gramer Mueiienbinde, wanted to recognise the name of the Geres ; vg1.

E. Vetter, Glotta 18, 310.

* W. Deecke, Etrusk. Forsehungen 4, 46 ; G. Thnlin, *D.* Gött. d. Part. Capella 48 ; E. FleseI, Das gramm. Geschlecht inn Etrusk. 10f.

° Etruria antica 1, 97 f.¡ Storia dell' arte Etrusca 1, 80f., 8Z ; 2 Tar. 25-26.

is invalid for the very reason that we do not even know whether these deities were worshipped in 3farzabotto, but the coexistence of two different freedoms is dinstinct and suggests the assumption that the Roman introduction of the year 49ö was intended to juxtapose a chthonic trinity with the Capitoline (i .e. celestial) trinity, analogous to the Etrnskian cult. It should first be noted that within the Capitoline trinity, the two female deities, Juno and Olinerva, form a closer unity with the male god at the head. *That* this is not meaningless is shown by the older trinity of Juppiter, Stars and.' There, too, the two gods of war join together to form a special group opposite the comrade who stands first. We thus come across the principle of connecting the second and third members of a triad more closely. That it is also applied to Ceres, Liber and Libera seems to be recognisable.

If one analyses the examples that Usener has compiled of the corresponding Greek freedom, one encounters a very different sequence: Demeter-Kore-Dionysos in Thelpnsa nnd in Ikonion, Dionysos-Demeter-kore in the temple of De- meter Prostasia between Sikyon and Phlius ; in Eleosis we have the sequence Demeter-Kore-Jakchos, in whose place Dionysos is once named ; only in Epidanros does the order Pantelie(Demeter)-Bakchos-Persephone occur. This order was adopted in Rome, but not adopted outright; rather, it was modified in such a way that the last two members were united by giving them the same name. Since Ceres had to claim the first place, this was the only way to unite the other members into one group. For the method that had been used successfully in other cases of combining two deities of the same nature or function into a pair had to remain impracticable in our case.

So it was decided to call the Kore the Libera without regard to another, already existing Knlt modelled on the Liber. It was only a consequence of this

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' O. Wissowa, RnKdR 23. **- Rhine. Ums. 58, 25.**

Reference that Liber and Libera appeared as the children *(liberi)* of Ceres. Cicero (de nat. deor. 2, 62) expressly testifies *to* the *fact that* they were thus conceived. Thus there was no hesitation in attributing a new meaning to both names, contrary to their original identity with Elentheros and Eleuthera. In the case of Libera, this change was facilitated by the fact that her name, as we have seen, could very well be understood as the name of Kore, Demeter's daughter. The situation is more difficult with Liber. Cicero remarks: gtiod *e:s nobis natos liberos appellamus,* idcirco Uererenat no "iianii saiti *Biber el Libera* - but then continues: good 3ti *Liibera ser "ant, in Libero now item.* The reason is o b v i o u s : Dionysus as the son of Demeter did not appear to be encountered elsewhere. And yet in Rome a t the beginning of the 5th century people were able to recognise Liber as the son of Ceres. How did this come about?

In Theban mythology, Dionysus is the son of Semele, in whom the Thracian earth goddess has long been recognised; as there with Zeus, so in her homeland she was linked with a dtwp, bro'. Thus from the outset there was a relationship to the Greek earth mother. We can show this in detail. And not only in scholarly speculation, where Semele was explained as F (Apollod. in Joh. Lyd., de mens. 4, ö1 ; Diod. 3, 62, 9), but, more i m p o r t a n t l y , also in the cult. On the Bnrg of Thebes the o'ii "ioy of Semele lay in the PalaSt of Kadmos (Paus. 9, 12, 3), but this itself is described elsewhere as the sanctuary of Demeter (Paus. 8, 16, 5)." Here the goddesses come into such close local contact t h a t a real equation is no longer surprising. In fact, in a separate tradition Dionysus appears as the son of Demeter and dea Zeus (Diod. 3, 62, 6). If this recurs in Rome, it nevertheless seems as if the Roman cult has preserved a particularity that may once **h a v e** had greater significance in the Middle Ages, but for us today is only recognisable in spheres."

' P. Kretschmer, Aus der Anomia 17 f. ¡ M. P. Nilsson, Greek Eeste 259; L. hold, Arch. Jahrb. 27, 263 ; Jessen, RML 4, 665 ; $eune, RE 2 A 1S4S.

• 0 Robert, Pausanias als Schriftsteller 102; 170.

• Just t o counter a misunderstanding expressed on various occasions (J. H. v. kirchoiann in his Überaetsung 118 note 185;

Let us return to Ceres and its two *liberi.* This trio is not a singularity on Italian soil. We know in several places the statuary representation of a seated woman with one or two children on her lap[1] ; they are interpreted in different ways, partly as representations of a deceased woman, partly as terra ôtater. Outside Etruria, they are found in the sanctuary of the "mother goddess" of Capua "; a later study will show that this brings us into the circle of Etruscan cults and at the same time close to the Ceres cemetery." Beyond this, however, we know from the certainly Etruscan Fortnna of Praeneste that she was not only worshipped there as a mother goddess but was also depicted as such. She held two children on her breast, in whom one could recognise two youthful deities, Juno and Juppiter Pner (Cic., de div. 2, 8ii). It is immediately apparent that this case corresponds perfectly to the relationship between Ceres, Liber and Libera, a s a corresponding representation of Fortuna on a preenestine terracotta has already been compared with Ceres and her two *liberi*.- However, the view that Fortnna was all the mother or nurse of the two children of the gods has recently been disputed with great vigour; we will have to g o into this in more detail.

Let's take a closer look at the Fortnn faculty of Praeneste. R. Delbrück " has succeeded in bringing together the archaeological reports we h a v e received with the findings on the spot.

P. Lenormant in Daremberg-Saglio 1 2, 1062), I note that Gicero, when he separates Liber as the son of Semele from the alleged son of Geres at this point, does not do so because it would have been an ancient Italian god. Quite apart from the fact that Cicero makes no mention of a sole god, such a view would be inconceivable because the ancient Roman system of gods is known to recognise a parent-child relationship. The method of dividing a divine figure given in the tradition as unified into several similar ones i s also found, to cite only the closest example, in Diodorus's exposition of Dionysus 3, 62, 2 f.

' Bianthi Bandinelli, Dedalo 6, 20 fig. 17 ; P. Ducati, Storia dell' arte etrusea 1, 320 f. ; 2 tav. 138.

• tI. r. Wilamowits, Bull. dell' Inst. 1873, 146 ; ł i . Koch, Röm. åIÍtt. 22, 414 f. ; A. Dieterich, Mother Earth 79. - S. n. p. 95 f.

• F. Lenormant b. Daremb.-Saglio 1 2, 10ò2.

• -tellenist. Baut. in Latium 1, 47 f.

to bring it into context. As we refer to his statements for all details, we will only briefly summarise the results here.

The sanctuary is located on a terrace extending to the west-east, which cuts into the mountainside on its northern side, against which the city leans. The whole complex was divided into two parts: to the west was the sanctuary of the Joppite Pner, a grotto or cave with three deep niches, and immediately east of it, in a crevice in the rock, was the site of the *sorles,* the Losoracle (Cic., de dir. 2, 85f.). There also stood the koltstatne of Fortuna with the children of Juppiter and Jnno, which we mentioned earlier. In the east was the sanctuary of Fortuna, which was separate from that of Juppiter Puer, but not too far away; she was invoked here as *Dioso(s)* Ofen *primo- cenia* (HL 14, 2863) or as *Louis yuer priniigenia* (1. c. 2862).

The relationship between Fortuna and Juppiter causes difficulties. While here she appears as the god's first-born daughter, there she is the boy's foster mother. Plan has therefore surmised that *Juppiler puer* arose "by way of false interpretation from the name *Fortuna Louis puer primigeiiia".* However, the assumption of such a false interpretation can hardly be described as probable. It is ruled out by the fact that it is still possible to prove from which Greek ideas the cult of Praeneste originated.

W. F. Otto ' has already reminded us in *Fortuna Louis puer primigenia* of Fü2p "u'ze'pa, the daughter of Zeus 'AZer#épio¿ (Pind., 01. 12, 1 f.). But there is also a Greek model for the other idea. Pausan. 6, 20, 2 speaks of a cult of Sosipolis in Olympia, which had its sanctuary on the northern border of the Altis, at the foot of the Kronos hill. In an essay of ground-breaking importance for the cult history of the oldest Olympia, C. Robert has dealt with the literary and monumental data that have come down to us and shown that this Sosipolis was originally nothing other than the child of Zeus, who here, as in his

' G. Wissowa, RuKdR ° 260. ° RE 7, 13 f.

• **Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, Pindar0s Ü14 AtflB. Ü.**
• Ath. Nitt. 18, 37 f.

Cretan homeland, in an "Idean" cave on the Kronos hill. In the sanctuary that later replaced this cave [1], the divine child occupied the rear room; in the front room there was an altar to Eileithyia. In other words: Here we find the antithesis to the juxtaposition of the goddess of women and childbirth, Fortuna, and Juppiter Puer, as we encountered in Praeneste. The connection with a d'r'tior also appears in Olympia. Dörpfeld's recent excavations [2] have shown that an ancient spring existed at the foot of the Kronion; in its immediate neighbourhood was the Idean grotto, the birthplace of Zeus. Above this spring on a promontory of the Kronion, the so-called Gaion, is the sanctuary of the Ge, where, according to Pansanias' testimony, oracles were given in ancient times (5, 14, 10). As you can see, this is also reminiscent of the praenestine grotto with its *sortes*.

The comparison can be taken even further. For if the preenestine lotus sticks, which were used to prophesy, were found deep in a crevice near the grotto, this is consistent with the fact that there was an earthen temple in Olympia near the Gaion.

In Pansanias' time there was an altar to Themis; it has been rightly surmised that it was originally connected with the /ior'eior of the earth [3]; Themis is also the earth. Her womb appears here and there as a donor of the oracle.

Yet another piece of news can be used here. Pansanias 9, 16, 7 tells of a shrine to Tyche at the castle of 'fheben. The cult statue was modelled on the Eirene of Kephisodotus * and carried the Pluto child in her arms as a kind of climber or nurse *(äcc gyzq'i 'p zqo'f'ui* z r*yy: Paris). The fact that this child has many points of contact with the Olympian child of Zens is obvious. It is already significant - that Sosipolis wore the z2c "s 'Jn "J#c/op (Paris. 6, 2ö, 4); even the Pluto child, who holds the Eirene of Kephisodotus on the arnie, once possessed this attribute. As the giver of the earth, as the son of Demeter and Jasion, who cannot be separated from the Olympian dactyl Jasios,

[1] Now different, W. Dörpfeld, Athens. Nitt. 47, 41. - 1. c. 401.
[2] W. Dörpfeld, 1. c. 41. * U. v. Wilamowits, Pindaros 306.
[3] A. Rutgerß van der Loeif, De ludis Elensiniis 54.

it corresponds to the child of Zens dwelling in the earth, who will probably once have had it as her mother. Tyche, however, appears in a function that corresponds to that of Fortuna, the mother of the Jnppite Pner.

Another similarity can be seen if we return to the area of Olympia.

According to Pausanias 6, 25, 4, there was a sanctuary of Z'0y§ in the city of Elis; next to it was a smaller chapel in which Sosipolis was worshipped. Here we again have the juxtaposition t h a t we observed in Praeneste. Of course, this time the cave is missing, but other features recur that may be decisive for our understanding. In the chapel was a depiction of the boy in a star-spangled chlamys, holding the horn of Amaltheia. The horn, the sign of blessing and wealth, reminded us of the Pluto child who had just met Tyche. Another feature is even more important. That image in the chapel of Sosipolis had been created ao'ö oy r orefpazop. The god thus appeared in a dream, and it corresponds to this when, according to Paris 6, 20, 4, the mother of Sosipolis justifies her and her child's joint appearance as confederates of the Eleians with a dream face. Thus we also have a counter-image to the oracles of Praeneste; they were also given by the divine child, who w a s also called *Juppifer* or- *canus* (CIL 1't, 2937 ; 2972) according to the oracle staves located in an ark *(area)*.e. The nature of this oracle seems to be different from the Eleian cult; but in Praeneste, as the story of Numerin's Snffnstius in Cicero, de div. 2, 85 shows, there were also dream oracles before the introduction of the loose rods.

There seems to be no doubt that the cult of Juppiter Puer goes back to that of Zeus Sosipolis in Olympia or Elis. If in Praeneste the Jnno appears alongside Juppiter (cf. also the Jutionoriom in the temple of Fortuna: CIL 14, 2867), then this juxtaposition first finds its counterpart in Tarraeina. There, alongside the Jnno Virgo, who was identified with Feronia, is the

Tnppiter Anxnrng.- In Serviuß, Aen. 7, 799 it appears as

' U. v. Wilamowitz, Speeches and Lectures ' 176.

• On his temple, see J. Lngli, Forma Italiae, Regio I, 1 1, 166 f.

dyJrtzo9 and his name is accordingly memorialised as örer §upofi. Then he can probably have been nothing other than a "boy", as Servius also pronounces this; furthermore, we recall what is said, for example, about the boy and the appearance of the child Zeus of Aigion (Paus. 7, 24, 4). The pre-Nestinian juxtaposition of Juno and the boy Juppiter would also find its analogy in the Olympian cult, however, if one may also recognise the Sosipoli9 in the child of Boethos, who was placed in the Heraion (Paus. 5, 17, 4).

In any case, it becomes clear that we have to understand the connection between Juppiter Puer and Fortuna in Praeneste as something old and original. And if the goddess appears there once as the 'daughter of Juppiter and then as his foster mother, this fact cannot be interpreted in any other way than t h a t two different cults of Fortnna or Z'ü2p merged here. This confirms Mommsen's view that *Juppiter puer* and *Juppiler pater Fortunae* must also be divorced. And it is equally true when Statius (silv. 1, 3, 80) s p e a k s of the *Praenestinae sorores,* i.e. of two different goddesses; the connection with the two ***Fortunae*** of Antium " also a r i s e s uncalled.

With the death of the child of Zen and its worship in the Idaean grotto of Olympia, we come across a significant circle - that of the Idaean dactyls or Curetes. For Rhea had entrusted the divine child to them for guardianship (Paus. 6, 7, 6). Given the similarities observed so far between Olympia and Praeneste, it is important that the dactyls are e n c o u n t e r e d here. For we hope to have shown elsewhere that the *Digitii* or Diyidii *[ralres,* the tutors and guardians of the Volcanic son Cae- cnlns, the later founder of the city, are identical with the Dactyls.

' K. Purgold, £tistor. u. polit. Aufs. E. Gurtius dedicated. 227 f. ; G. Robert 1. c. 40 note 3.

ßermes 19, 454 f. ; whether this also confirms the much more far-reaching statements of C. Thulin, Rhein. lfus. 60, 256 f., I would like to doubt.

• \V. F. Otto, RE 7, 23¡ cf. G. Thulin, 1. C. 261 note 1. Two images of Fortuna in the temple of Fortuna Muliebris in Rome : W.P. Otto, Philol. 64, 193.

• GCriaR 194 f. - Subsequently I find that E. Meyer, Gesch. d. Altert. I S -, 720 declares the dactyls to be giants and accordingly L. Otaltens

This fact deserves all the more observation in our context nm, as relationships to the divine child can be indicated for both the preenestine and the Olympian J9äumlinge.

Let us begin with the latter. Pausaniag ii, 7, 7 reports on the race that the dactyls organised among themselves in Olympia and remarks: before riz area e§ *a?cüiv* al'idi;i ze'par'iinnt **xoz*rov - uopeirnc di** e0zoi9 for which dj zt oiisui

τὸν κότινον ὡς τὰ χλωρὰ ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρῶσθαι σφᾶς καθεύ-

dorz-s The fact that the dactyls sleep on a bed of olive leaves has so far only been discussed in more detail by L. Weniger '. His interpretation that it is the after-effect of an incubation oracle and that the rite is to be understood in a similar way to Homer's story of the Sellers in Dodona, the 0 -ei--- • aierroi, seems to be correct from the outset.

to contain. In the Praenestine Knlt, too, the oil tree played a role, again connected with an oracle: V'ir are referring to the well-known legend of the installation of the praenestine lots. Cicero (de div. 2, 85 f.) tells us that when Numerius Suffustins found the oak lottery tablets, honey flowed from an olive tree within the Fortuna sanctuary. The Haruspices then proclaimed that these 'tablets would achieve the highest fame: They w e r e to be kept in a chest made from the wood of that olive tree."

But there is not only a connection between the Olympian dactyls and Juppiter Puer - the *Digitii* of Prae- neste themselves

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point to this god. For their foster child,

He believes he must reject the interpretation of the crippled llephaistos as a dwarf (Arch. Jahrb. 87, 256 f.). That the "Danish" could not be giants is already suggested by their name. Furthermore, we encounter an explicit testimony: the Heracles of Ategalopolis - zNr 'ZJ "imr "7 oryer'cr Nu zi'2wr - was only one cubit high (Paus. 8, 31, 3). The kabirs, which are related to the dactyls, also have a dwarf-like shape (G. Kaibel, Nachr. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1901, 514), as do the ?I-"-s"idr Amphissa (G. kaibel, 1. c. 512). If Damnameneus Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1129 appears as "y/y", the addition shows that it must be an individual peculiarity. ' Ancient Greek. Banmkultus 33 f. ; to his interpretation of Demeter Chamyne as ;tn"-0r9s I am certainly not able to believe. On the meaning of the olive tree see the literature in L. Denbner, De incub. 26. On the delphi laurel see P. Cortsen, Arch. Ans. 43, 220 f.

• W. F. Otto, RE 7, SS f.

even if it is not Joppiter himself, belongs anfa closely with him and his oracle.

We believe we have demonstrated elsewhere that Caecnlns w a s identical t o the well-known opponent of Hercules, Cacns. We recognised this identity not only in the name, but also in the ancestry. For Cacns, the subterranean, fire-breathing demon, is also a son of Volcanns, who, as the Italic Hephaestus, was a god of the earth." At the same time, Cacus is similar to Caeculus of Praeneste in another respect, in his predatory nature. Serrius, Aen. 7, 678 states: posfguuw *din latrocina'us est, Praenestinam* ciritatem iti ***monlibus condidit.***

The account by the annalist Gellius in Solin 1,.

Althoughit seems t o contain some unexplained details, it is clear that Cacus' place of birth in Campania is Whenhe founds an empire there at the volcano and then succumbs to Hercules in an attack on Rome and the local Arcadians, we r e c o g n i s e the same euhemeristic reinterpretation of the mythical being as a king with his own rule and his own army that we encounter in Dion. Hal. 1, 42.- But in one point, the localisation in Campania, something original has been preserved. The son of Erdfener, Volcanus-Hephaistos, thus appears in the vicinity of the Phlegraean regions, today's Solfatara, together with its volcanic phenomena; there, not far from Dikaiarchia-Pnteoli, a*'H'f'aiaro* is mentioned (Strab. 5 p. 246 ; Joh. Lyd, de mens. 4, 11s ; Sil. Ital. 12, 135.).* Thisconfirms our view of Cacus as the son of Volcanus, all the more so a s there is a parallel to the Roman Cacnssage in fiampania. At Vesnv and on the Phlegraean Fields grew a race of violent and lawless Ilans who were y§yereip, i.e. sons of the volcanic land; Heracles is said to have defeated and exterminated them (Diod. 4, 21, 5f.). They were the real doppelgangers of the son of Cacus, the volcano.

Gellins then goes on to report that Cacus told the Tyrrhenian

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' **GGiaR 183 f. - Plin, n.** h. **2, 240; also € liaR 183 f.**

• **F. Münser, Cacns the cattle thief 110** f.

• **Malten, RE 8, 383.**

Tarehon ala the entirety of King Ofarsyas [1]. This king is said to have instructed the Italians in the *disciplina avqvrum* through his envoys from Phrygia (Sem. Dan., Aen. 3, 359). That Cacus w a s one of the envoys is suggested by Solin itself. For there a Phrygian, who also bears a name from Asia Minor, appears as a comrade of Cacus. So he himself must have come from the same country and belonged to the Phrygians who practised the art of divination in Italy. A number of Etruscan depictions agree with this, in which a shearer Cacu8 (Etrnsk. each) has always been recognised - we then have no right to separate him from the "cattle thief" - but we must recognise in Cacns a prophesying demon, - very similar to his Greek counterpart Geryonens, w h o w a s also called an oracle.

Given the identity between Cacus and Caeculus, it is reasonable to assume that the latter also had a relationship to prophecies and oracles. We would then understand why he was the founder of Praeneste, the city of Fortuna and Jnppiter Puer. But not only Caeculus would thus have a closer relationship to him and his foster parents - the same would apply to his foster parents, the *Diqitii,* the Praenestine dactyls.

After this digression we return to our topic. It will be clear that the praenestine Fortuna with her "children" Juppiter Puer and Jnno represents a very old conception. We therefore have the right to compare them with the trinity of Ceres, Liber and Libera and to conclude from the correspondence of the principle of order that the particular form of the triad represents an Etruscan element, as it does there and in our case. The Etruscan religion

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' On the legend of the eponymous king of Mars, see J Bayet, Leß orig. de l' llerc. Rome 215 f.

• It is called 3fepafes in Solin, which is a real Asia Minor name. We have lyd. and lyk. 3f-y":, with which a native *tneb's- is rendered (J. Sundwall, D. einheim. Nam. d. Lyk. 287). From this, the formans f's- (P. Kretschmer, Einltg. i. d. d. Gesch. d. gr. Spr. 326 f.) would have formed **maka-la- M "/äl yc.*

• G. Körte, Etrusk. Spiegel 5, 169 f.¡ G. Robert, Festsehr. Blümner 75 f. ; Tteldensage 2, 474 note 4 ; cf. also P. Münzer, 1. c. 113f.

• F. Hünser, 1. c. 114 .- G. Wissowa, RnKdR - 260 note 4.

would thus have provided the form under which the neo-constituted Greek trinity of the year 496 was received in Rome and incorporated into the mountain of the domestic cult - indeed, perhaps the preenestine fortress can be understood as a model of that trinity.

Let us now summarise our findings. It had become clear to us that the Triad of 496 was not initially mediated by a neighbouring people - in stark contrast to what we observed in the earliest introduction of Liber and Libera. Although that triad in all probability came to Rome from Campania, and in any case from Greek Lower Italy, i.e. it must have taken the same route as I)ionysos-Liber a century earlier, the situation has nevertheless changed fundamentally in that Rome now no longer entered into contact with the Greeks through the mediation of a link, but directly with them.

This is the fundamental difference between the new introduction of the year 496 and all previous introductions of Greek colts. They all came to Itom not through direct contact with the Greek world, but through the mediation of other Italic tribes - be it that, as in the case of Liber-Dionysus, the Oscians played this role or that (as I believe I have shown in my earlier study) it was the Etruscans. Incidentally, the process has its equivalent in the linguistic field. The oldest layer of Greek loan words that we encounter in the Latin language also reached Rome through the mediation of other Italic tribes, as can be ascertained from undoubted signs. Through the Etroscian, **"nrp/i;** as *sporta, /vu'pa* as ***gruma*** *ozavä* as *scaena,* Gany- medes as *Calamilus,* Acheron as *Acheruns* * have been adopted, to name but a few. On the other hand, the stem formation of *Aiax, Aiacis* opposite Ni'a9, Ni'arzop points to Oscian ", the phoneticisation of *rosa* opposite yodin to Sabine mediation.

' In general, cf. P. Kretschmer in the Einltg. i. d. Altertumswiss. I ' 6, 112 ¡ J. B. Hofmann, Festschr. Streitberg 367.

" G. Pasquali, Studi etruschi 1, 291f. [5] Lastly J. B. Hofmann, 1. c. 371.

* P. K.retschmer, 1. e. 115 ; J. B. Hofmann, 1. c. 370.

Linguistic history and religious history thus form a unified picture. Here and there we see an early and not insignificant influence of Greek on ancient Rome, but in neither case is the contact direct. Greek is readily absorbed, but an endeavour to penetrate to the sources is nowhere discernible.

The peculiarity of this state of affairs will become even more apparent if we draw on the later period for comparison. The comprehensive wave of Greek culture, which began in the second half of the 3rd century and was decisive for the subsequent period, was characterised by the awareness that the adoption of Greek culture had a fundamental, om- formative effect on the whole of mankind. Related to this is the demand that anyone who aspires to possess Greek education must acquire it through direct observation of the works and through knowledge of the language itself. This demand for an original experience, which has remained decisive for all times, represents a fundamental contrast to what has been observed for our epoch.

Here the reception of Greekness is not an act of deliberate appropriation, but can only have been the natural product of a historical process. It is noticeable that the peoples who come into consideration as mediators for Rome are precisely those who, like the Oscians, lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Magna Graecia or, like the Etruscans, had been in contact with Greek culture from time immemorial, perhaps already in their homeland in Asia Minor. It was a simple matter of adopting and passing on, just as one exchanges various things with a neighbour with whom one is in contact.

It is obvious that these conditions had to lead to a cultural primacy of the Oscians and especially the Etruscans. This is particularly clear in their case, because the cultural primacy of Etruria goes hand in hand with the political primacy: the older Rome can be characterised to a large extent as an Etruscan city. In our case, the reception of the Triad of 496, this link is broken for the first time. An attempt is made to gain direct access to the

' On the following W. Jaeger, Antike u. Humanismus 20f.; R. Herder, Antike 5, 291f.

Greekdom. It would certainly not be wrong to link this attempt - which was also an attempt to throw off the tutelage of Etrnria - with the simultaneous political events, the expulsion of the Tarqninians. Both events are characterised by a striving for autonomy.

Therein lies the special - one may say unique - nature of our case. Of course, this act was not only isolated - it was only more than two centuries later that this endeavour was realised with more lasting success and to a greater extent - it also remained incomplete. For the older primacy of Etriria could not be completely eliminated in its effects. Even if the adopted colt was certainly understood as Greek, the form under which it was adopted was still entirely Etruscan. Whether it is the temple, which we certainly have to imagine according to the Etruscan three-cell scheme, or the naming of the three deities, it is the way in which they were grouped together to form the triad and placed alongside other existing 'friads.

Nasque and death cult

In the first section of our investigation we came across a Greek element within the Oskian death cult. The cult of the dead and the funerary play do not, of course, date from the beginning of Greek influence among the Oaks and Samnites any more than among the other Italic tribes. Rather, an older, national stratum is as clear as possible. We are referring to the kind of funerary games of which the remains of the Oscian wall painting provide information, as well as the chorus in honour of Proserpina: Chariot races, fist fights and a bloody combat game with the lance, the meaning of which L. Malten ' nns has taught us to understand here as elsewhere within the ancient mortuary scene. Of course, this does not exhaust all the facts available to us. Rather, between the national-oscetic and the

Röza. Bitt. 38/39, 325f.

In addition to the Greek layer, there is a third layer, which is also Italic, but nevertheless represents a foreign body within the Oscian area - the Etruscan layer. In order to recognise it, we have to start from a seemingly remote special problem - from the Roman name of the stage mask.

The etymology of the Latin *persona* has been put on a new basis by the fact that E. Deecke ' and, independently of him, F. Skntsch " were able to prove an origin outside Latin. They connected the Roman term for theatre mask with the Etruscan \Vorte *'persv,* which is found inscribed in a Cornetan tomb (Tomba degli anguri) on the depiction of a masked figure and which accordingly also seemed to them to designate the mask. This combination, w h i c h very soon enjoyed general acclaim, then became
P. Friedländer " in a short essay and at the same time a t t e m p t e d to d r a w conclusions from it about the oldest history of the theatrical player on Italian soil. With the success that here for the first time the importance of Etruria for the history of the stage, especially in Rome itself, has been recognised and a more precise definition at least attempted.

So much for the current state of research. In an essay *, knowledge of which is assumed here, I took the view, in contrast to other explanations, that in *persona* the Etruscan masculine *'yersu* was extended by a feminine -am suffix, similar to how a maskulines Greek xo/ia' p became ze *lanlerna* by means of the same suffix. The observation that the feminine here, as elsewhere, means the lower case, forced itself upon me. If 2"/'az p was a candelabra or a large fire basin (Od. 19, 63f. and Eusthat. 1848, 28), then loaierno is the much less extensive lamp or lantern. The case is similar with mens, which denoted the "lake", as well as any depression, i.e. also the "trough", "tub" or the "knfe", while the word derived from it, leeren, denoted the "pond" or "pond".

' Etrugk. Forsch. n. Stud. 6, 47.
Arch. f. lat. **lexicogr.** 15, 145; RE 6, 775. ' Crlotta 2, 164 f.
* Archiv für Religionswiss. 27, 35f.

"à\'eiher", but also for any hole or gap of smaller dimensions. So for now, the conclusion is that if *øersu* really meant the "3(aske", the *person* was nothing other than the "small ò l a s k e ".

These linguistic observations form the basis for the following subsections, the first part of which also follows on from the previous section, but which are intended to pursue the problem beyond the results obtained there.

1.

We begin with the question of whether the use of Etruscan "àtaske", which had previously been taken for granted, can be accepted without further ado. In doing so, it will be necessary to take a closer look at the fresco of the Tomba degli Anguri, where the word in question, as we have seen, is inscribed on a particular figure - a description and centring of this fresco has already been given elsewhere; here only the essential points will be repeated.

' Most recently, G. Devote, Stndi Etruschi 2, 309 f. has commented on the linguistic problem. Like aøt Friedländer, øo also considers an identification of Etruscan øersti and *woda'andav* possible, rind swar, although he tredendly points to a semasiological visual difficulty (1. c. 310). But the examples he cites, Etruscan *metus* -- -lfčáovae (for drop of the ending) and Etruscan cach Zfćø1c. cach Zfćø1c'y (for the glide as well as for the drop of the p) are not conclusive. For if Etruscan *marmic Mäpuyaaa* is su setsen, then eø is su seigen, since the drop of vowel-containing endings was limited to a preceding - "-. Etruøk. *evru* -- *Eb$_e$ čuy* Devoto had earlier placed øhimself under the 'parole abbreviate' (1. e. 1, 258), with Reeht, like *cuturpa, -pe-* m Aiz*pap, *ecapa* $\boldsymbol{T}$ *'snd ğq* seigen. Moreover, none of the cases mentioned are -o stems like *upóa "iuov*. Here rather attnite ' *Băy:Proc, atrec0e -- 'Adeaor-e,* amiice - *Ap m-s* u. A. m., since -e regularly takes the place of the Greek ending. At the same time tele 7 '#xepos is thus confirmed as an abbreviation (G. De- voto, 1. c. 1, 2ü8) ; another ãpossibility in E. Fiesel, Namen d. griech. ãfythos inn Etrusk. 36 [Announcement of a recent investigation by
A. Nehring, Glotta 17, 118. corr. N.]

• This seemed necessary to me for the sake of coherence; much has changed within the individual.

° Bonnm. dell' Inst. 11, tax. 25 ; F. Weege, Etrnøk. Nalerei, pl. 93-94.

• Arch. für Religionswiss. 27, 39 f.

This is clearly an I)ar8te11nng of funeral games. The group to which the figure known as *'persu* belongs represents the animal fight of a prisoner or condemned man, which w a s performed on the occasion of the funeral ceremony of a noble deceased person together with other displays and fights in honour of the deceased. When we hear of similar animal fights in Rome, we must assume that, like the gladiatorial games, whose origins can be traced back to the Etruscan funeral games, they w e r e also adopted from Litrnria.

Now that the representation as a whole has been explained, it remains to examine what the person of the *cpersu* is *in* particular. Let us start with his costume. Here it is the 3laske and the other peculiarities of the clothing that must attract attention: the pointed, light-coloured and thigh-striped hat and, above all, the short tunic that only just covers the thighs. If we t a k e a closer look, we see that a black, close-fitting garment, a short-sleeved vest, is pulled over a dark brown chiton, which in turn i s decorated with a series of irregularly shaped white patches or attached flaps. That this i s a special feature is shown by a similar figure in another tomb in Corneto, the Tomba del pnlcinella. ' There we encounter the same costume: the hat decorated alternately with light and dark stripes, a mask (as can still be recognised with certainty ") and that chiton decorated in such a strange way. Admittedly in a slightly different **form:** The skirt is composed of square pieces that are put together like a chessboard. What does this skirt mean ?

We know the ceafufus (Apul., Apol. 13) from the later Mimos - the robe of the buffoon, which was patched together from different coloured rags, a kind of harlequin skirt.

' L. Malten, **Rönn. litt.** 38/39, **328 f.** ; C. **Weickert, Müncb. Jahrb. f. d. bld. Kunst N. F. 2, 24 f.**

F. Weege, 1. e. 90; cf. P. Dueati, Arte etrusea p. 59 ; F. Weege, Der **Dance in antiquity 1ii0.** - 0. Keck, 1. c. 18.

*** On the following A. Dieterich, Pulcinella 145 f.**

panniculus and thus corresponded roughly to the Pulcinella of the Commedia d'arte or the Arlecchino. The fact that this costume is older than the Mimus is shown, as we have rightly seen, by the title *'Pannuceali'* which i s handed down for a rope of Pomponius (fr. 87-98 Ribb.) ; the suggested translation as "the Harlequins" or "the Pulcinelles" is probably the right one.

Pomponins, together with Novius, is one of the representatives of the native Italian Yolk farce, the Atellane, which became literary with these two around the end of the 2nd to the 1st century. l)his farce, similar to the sub-Italian Phlyacians, experienced its first flowering in Campania and from then on became the most important literary genre.
- as the name of the *ludi* Osci, which the Romans gave it, indicates - came to Rome. The fact that we encounter the costume of the *rpersu* again in it must be of particular interest. For the Tomba degli auguri cannot be dated beyond the middle of the 6th century, while the Tomba del pulci- nella may well be younger, but must nevertheless d a t e from the same century. Both depictions are therefore older than anything we know and possess of the .ttellane. It may then be assumed with some justification that this particular costume of the Campanian farce originates from Etruria, namely from the Etruscan funeral games; the Campanian Etruscans o f f e r themselves as mediators.

We can confirm this result from another angle: The conical hat of the *gersu* must have been part of the costume of the Atellan players. It is found again in a similar form in the ölimus. In a representation of the columbarium of the Villa Pamfili belonging to this area, the hat of two players shows the same "alternation of light and dark stripes that characterised the *gersv* and his comrades from the Tomba del pulcinella. This costume was also common in the Atellane itself. A. Dieterich ° has drawn attention to a memme on which a grotegke figure with a large phallus is depicted. The enormous nose and the distorted grimace indicate that it is wearing an oetasque. It is therefore an actor of the

' A. Dieterich, I. c. 154 f.
° A. Dieterieh, 1. c. 181 fig.¡ cf. 167 note 2 .- 1. c. 112 note.

*** Abbr. in F. Ficoroni, De larvis scaenicis, tab. YIII.**

Comedy or another comic play, and the object he carries in his left hand shows where he belongs. It is a kind of cudgel or club, which Dieterich probably rightly referred to as cfora *scirpea,* or "straw club". We know it as a comic weapon from a fragment of the Phoenissae of Novius (fr. 79 Ribb.), i.e. from an Atellane. According to this, our depiction is a figor analogous to the bajazzo or pagliazzo, whose name means the one who throws or strikes with the straw club. Then it cannot be without significance that this figure wears the same large hat that we encountered as the 'cargo of the *qersu*. In this point, too, his costume can be recognised as a forerunner of the Oscan-Campanian farce.

Thus our result seems to be confirmed, and yet one point must give rise to concern. Consider this: if our derivation of the Atellan costume is correct, we must assume that a costume which we encountered only in the animal fight was subsequently transferred to the scenic play, which is of a completely different nature. This would be a real difficulty if the same fresco of the Tomba deq-1i anguri did not make it possible to show that the figure of *'fersu* had already appeared in Etruria within a play that could at least be associated with the ¥tellane.

In addition to the presentation we have discussed, we have a second, in the centre of which (as far as the poor preservation allows a judgement) a pair of pugilists is depicted, to the right and left of them a male figure each, in which we have to see dancers according to the fixed representation scheme of archaic-Etruscan art·° Then the idea suggests itself - especially when we encounter them here in connection with other public displays - that we have before us a representation of those Etruscan *ludiones* from whose performances the Roman stage play grew, according to Livy. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that a flute-player appears to the left of the fan fighters, whose playing evidently not only fulfils the function of these but also that of the

' F. Weege, Etruskisehe Malerei Pl. 4; 16¡ 31-38¡ 6p.

• [The right thing already in F. Besserachmidt, Beitr. z. Ghronol. d. etrusk. Wandmal. 39 f. Borr. N,]

also applied to the dances. It is expressly said of the *ludiones* that they *sine carmine* ulfo, *sine imilandorum* corntiaum nett ... *ad tibicinis* modos *saltanles hand indecoros motus more Tusco dabant* (Liv. 7, 2, 4). \Of course, we only hear that the Roman drama originated from the play of the *ludiones,* but nothing prevents us from assuming that it formed the nucleus for the Campanian farce. On this assumption, the fact that one of the dancing figures in our fresco wears the same costume as the
'f'ersu and at the same time is explicitly labelled as identical with him by an inscription, has a heightened significance. For then the figure and costume of *':f'ersu would* already have had their place in the play of the Etruscan *ludiones* and would have passed from there into the later Atellane.

With this assumption we are already in the middle of a recently discussed question - that of the s i g n i f i c a n c e o f Etruria for the origin and development of the Atellans in general. We can say with some certainty that our assumption is indeed correct. On the basis of observations quite different from our own, t h e r e i s now a growing consensus that the origin of the Atellans can be traced back to Etruscan culture." It seems to have come to Campania with the Etruscan immigrants and conquerors ", from where it w a s then received by the Romans through Oscan mediation, as we have seen. We see at once that this view receives a not unimportant support from our new observations. At the same time

' It **should come as no surprise to encounter a** Sienese play at **a funeral service. An echo of it seems to** have **survived in** Rome. **The *Adetphoe* of Terens and the extended version of his 2fecpra are expressly recorded as having been performed at the funeral games of Aemilius Panlus in 160**; **we may at least assume the same for the Naerian Praetexta *Ofartidiom at* the funeral ceremony of Blareellus in 208** (C. **Hosius in 8chanz, Rönn. Lit.-Gesch.** I - **63). And of the *Etettra* of Acilius and the Artnorum iodiciotn of Pacnvins we hear that they (or pieces from them)** were **recited at Caesar's funeral games** (Suetonius, Caesar 84 ; Appian., b. c. 8, 146).

• **E. Latten, Glotta 2, 269 f. (cf. also his older study Rir.** di storia antica 2, 25 f.) **and above all E. Kalinka, Philol. Wochenachr. 1928, 571 f.**

• If the game is named after Atella, 8o the name of the city alone is **enough to show that we are in the sphere of the Etrnskian $ultnr: W. Schulse,** ZGLEN 578.

This puts another fact into perspective, with which our investigation now reaches its actual goal.

The Atellane is the one of the scenic plays that was performed in the mask in Rome from the very beginning.
I)his peculiarity r e m a i n e d even after the introduction of Greek drama; it was not until the middle of the 2nd century that the mask became established. Thus it i s easy to understand w h y the players of the ancient Italian farce were described as *personati on the* basis of the earliest possession of the mask (Fest., p. 217 M : *per Atellanos,* gut *proprie*
cocaiiiwr *personali).'*

The only possible conclusion has long since been drawn from this that, if anywhere, the Atellane is the genre in whose wake the stage mask found its way into Rome - if we consider further the probable Etruscan origin of the Atellane, it is in itself obvious to think of the same origin of the mask that characterises it. Our depiction of the *f'ersu* can confirm this.

For it is not only in the skirt composed of different coloured flaps, not only in the pointed hat, but also in the the costume of this figure corresponds to that of the later Atellans. And the similarity goes even further: as we have already seen, it extends across the

Maske

'thing' refers to the 'word'. I'ndeed, the very *i:fersu* is inscribed here, as the further development of which the Latin *persona,* i.e. the Roman term for the theatre mask, can be understood.

The correspondence is therefore complete and the only question that remains for us to answer is what follows from this for the meaning of the Etruscan word. Things would have t o be very special if it only corresponded to *pers0na* in its long form and not also in what it denotes, or at least if it was closely related to it.

Are we therefore to translate *':fersu* as "mask" without further ado ? Plan consider: The inscription on the fresco of the Tomba degli augnri, like that of the other figures, must correspond to the figure

' On the place most recently R. Reitsenstein, Göttingen Naehr. 1918, 242.
• E. Kalinka, 1. c. ö74.

as a whole, not to a single, relatively unimportant element such as the mask. It would therefore be preferable if the word *'persu* could also be interpreted to refer to the whole figure. In addition, the Latin femi- ninum *pers0na,* which certainly means the mask, must have signified something smaller than its Etruscan etymon, as we saw at the beginning. This could very well mean that the Etruscan word referred to the entire figure depicted in the fresco. However, if *'persu* cannot be translated as "mask" without further ado, the question remains as to who the figure thus designated q-being aei, from which the word *persona* is derived.

2.

We have argued elsewhere at[1] that this is the name of a god belonging to the earth and the ethereal nights, which differs from that of the Zfee---e- -.
'Peqoe-'pévq, to which the Grae fepnJ, the Hekate-Rip "y or Dep "y's and the clan associated with it could not be separated. It is important that we can confirm this assumption from another side and at the same time determine what kind of god it was.

We saw that the *':fersu* appears on the depiction of a

Here, the far-reaching investigation of the L. Maltens * taught us to understand the significance of those bloody sacrifices and battles that appear again and again on Etruscan tomb depictions. The person killed or defeated is offered as a gift to the deceased. To confirm this, as it were, the soul of Patroclus (judge po- ***trvcles)*** appears in the fresco of the 'fomba Francois in Vulci', and next to it the Etruscan god and guide of the dead *(charun)* to attend the sacrifice of the Trojans. As Malten has also shown, the gladiator fights, whose origin in the Etruscan funeral games is confirmed by explicit evidence, belong in this context.
Anch here the soul of the fallen has a sacrifice for the dead

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' Arch. f. Religionswias. 27, 45 f.

• Rönn. Mitt. 38/39, 3IX1f. ¡ dasu G. Weickert, **Münch.** Jahrb. N. F. 2, 24.

• Dueati-Giglioli, Arte etrusca flg. 38-40; L. halten, 1. c. 301; P. Dueati, **Etreria** antica 2, 101.

means. And accordingly, the custom has also been preserved in these games - one might say: as an indication of their origin - that at the end a masked ghostly figure, representing the underworld god Dispater, appeared at the theatre to carry away the bodies of the fallen (Tertull., adv. nat. 1, 10 ; Apol. 1ö). If he wore a hammer as a badge, the very badge of the Etruscan Storno, this is enough to make him appear outwardly as his image."

Tertnllian mentions a second figure in addition to the Dispater: he had to check to what extent the fallen gladiators were already different and wore the mask of Mercar for this task. As we believe, this is nm Hermes as /r2onoyuoy ", i.e. a function of the god that was closely related to that of *Charun.* This confirms our result from a new angle. But a third message belonging here has been preserved. Seneca, Apocol. 9, 3, seems to testify, as has been astutely surmised *, that the beadles who had to punish the cowardly Oladiators were supposed to be *lar ae*, thus again beings of the underworld.

Shouldn't our *cpersu* be understood in a similar way?

Within the funeral games of the Tomba degli anguri, the animal fight, if our interpretation is correct, must have had the same function as a funeral sacrifice as the gladiatorial game; there, too, the victim must have been an offering for the soul of the dead. This can still be shown on the basis of our depiction. The blood flowing from the wounds of the fighter8 is emphasised with unmistakable emphasis. It should be remembered that it was precisely the consumption of the dead man's blood that was the aim of gladiatorial combat. Yarro, who reports this (Sem. Dan. ad Verg., Aen. 6, 37), also mentions in this context the *praefioae,* the Iflageweiber at the funerals, who tore their faces apart, *ut sangvine ostenso in[eris salis[acianl.* Anch there it is therefore nm the effect of the blood ; how closely gladiators and *praeficae are* connected in this point.

' L. hold, 1. c. 329 et seq.

Stiller-Deecke, Die Etrusker 2, 102 ; P. Dueati, **Etruria antica 1,** 110 **Cf.** GGiaR 90f .- R. lleinse, ßermes 61, 66.

the ancient Roman tomb reliefs have brought us to the Civitale S. Paolo', in which the Lamentation Woman appears next to the fighting gladiators.

If we visualise these similarities, the parallelism of gladiatorial games and animal combat in their mutual relationship to the cult of the corpse becomes clear. But then the conclusion that the *'f'ersu* once fulfilled a similar function to that of the *charun* in the sacrifice of the young Trojan prisoners, or better still - because the *'persu* w a s also merely a masked figure who had to represent the deity - like the Roman dispater or mercnr in the gladiatorial game. In other words, the *'persu* was originally the embodiment of an underworld god or demon who had to receive the soul of the slain and lead it to Hades; only then did he become the kind of overseer or director of the cruel game8 that our depiction represents. Dispater and Mercur, at least in the imperial era, were hardly anything other than masked executioners.

The character of the 'persi' as an underworld god can be shown from another angle. The reason for this is that it can be paralleled not only with the function of the Dispater and Mercur, but also with that of the *lar ac* in the gladiatorial game. If we now see a dancing *'fersu* in our fresco, we are reminded that a class of deities from whose name the warm one is derived, the lares, are depicted in art as a thousand. And indeed since ancient times, as the fragment of Naevius (com. fr. 95 f. Ribb.) with its mention of Theodotus shows, well ... *Lares ludenles peni* girtii *bubulo.* This8 dancing of the Lares has been deduced from their character as fertility demons.° However, if one considers t h a t t h e r e must have been a connection between the Lares and the underworld, then perhaps the idea that the dancing Lares belong to the dancing underworld god is more likely; the Etruscan and Roman ideas would then correspond.

' tion. Linc. 19, 591 flg. 19 ; G. Weickert, 1. c. 6 fig. 1.

• **W. F. Otto, Arch. f. lat. lexicogr. 15, 119.**

° W. F. Otto, 1. c. 117 f.

This conclusion can also be reached from a third perspective. L. Halten has pointed out to me (by letter) that in the wolf which the *ifersu* unleashes *on* his victim one could see the animal of the god of death, indeed, perhaps "ultimately the oldest form of the demon of death, roughly in the sense in which in the paintings of Corneto[i] end Orvieto - the god of death wears the wolf's cap". The fact that the wolf had such a meaning has been explained by Malten himself for the (Greek) - he was able to point out, on the basis of an older work by Anziani ', that something similar could be recognised for Etruria. Subsequently, P. Ducati - took up the investigation again and provided evidence that on the Etrnskian monuments the wolf appears in a number of cases as a manifestation of the underworld god.

Other things can be mentioned in this context. The account of the origin of the Collegium of the *hirpi lsorani* in Servins, Aen. 11, 78ö as well as its connection with Dis- pater had already been recalled by Ducati; also in the V'ölfen mentioned there we have undoubtedly to see dead demons. A new addition is the sarcophagus of Torre S. Severo, one long side of which shows the sacrifice of the 'frojans by Achilles. The depiction is largely identical to the well-known fresco in the Tomba Francois in Volci '[0,] except that the god of the dead with the 'volcano cap appears on the left side instead of Agamemnon *(azmenrum* CIE 5256). In his appearance he corresponds to the previously mentioned depictions from Corneto and Orvieto, except that he has a female deity, called Persephone *('persipnei)*, at his side.[l] It is noteworthy that instead of the usual sceptre he wears the z§prxc'or of Herme9-Mercnrius; this is reminiscent of Jryoao/'ao;, whom we encountered before in a similar context.

' F. Weege, Etruscan Painting Tat. 62.
° P. Dueati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 2, tav. 183.

• Archaeolog. Jahrb. 1914, 238 note 20¡ cf. 2Sö note 4.
* Mélanges d'arehéol. et d'hist. 30, 257 f.
• Rendiconti dei Lincei 24 (1915) b40 f. ^ \. c. 542.
' W. F. Otto, RE 8, 1934.
• E. Galli, bfonum. dei Lincei 24, 6 ° 1.c. tav. I.
'° P. Ducati, Storia dell' arte etrusca 2, tav. 188.
' E. Oalli, I. c. 44 f.

Finally, one last piece. On the narrow side of the well-known Etruscan Amazon sarcophagus in Florence, a naked male figure appears as an acrobat in the midst of two masks: kneeling with his right leg and his left stretched out on the ground, he is attacked by two wolves who are trying to tear his thighs apart.[1] The correspondence with the "Distributed" of the Tomba degli auguri is evident. The masks to the right and left of this scene show that once again the idea of the wolf-like god of the underworld is present. For it has been rightly surmised that such masks, placed on the corners of the sarcophagi, have something to do with the god of the dead.° Here too, then, we are dealing with the sacrifice of an oilman in the cult of the subterraneans, with the wolf again symbolising the god of the dead - quite analogous to what we have concluded for our fresco.

From all sides it has been confirmed that the *gersu* has to do with the realm of the dead. How can this result be reconciled with the previous one, according to which the same word in which we have just recognised the name of an underworld god has given rise to the Latin term for the mask?

The comparison of the funerary fresco with the above-mentioned acrostic of the Amazon sarcophagus must suggest that there is some inner relationship. Just as here the mask appears next to the wolf's dismemberment of a human sacrifice, so there the *'f'ersu* has provided the etymon for *persona. In* general, it is often the case that the mask i s associated with the deities of the earth and the underworld or even with the dead themselves.[3] For the latter, we may recall the widespread branch of the sepulchral mask, which appears within the Italic area, especially in the Roman *imagines maiorum* and the Etrnskian death masks of Chiosi; we hope to see more below

' Dueati-Giglioli, Arte etrusca 220, flg. 42. ° Bieber, RE 14, 2110.

The examples listed here do not claim to be exhaustive; the subject deserves separate treatment.

* Honum. dei Lincei 30, 449 f., flg. 60-61; 11. Mühlestein, Die Kunst der Etrnsker 1, figs. 147-148; L. A. Milani, Huseo topografico d'Etruria 61 f.

to give.' On the other hand, W. Wrede has recently treated a number of monuments belonging to this group and pointed out that in Greece it is the Ner chthonic deities who are depicted in mask form (probably to be distinguished from the pro- tome)." The facts are confirmed in Etruria as well as in Etruscan Latium and Campania, where again only these deities are found in mask form on the antefixes of the temples."

It must be connected with this way of thinking that the name of phenomena belonging to the underworld has often become that of the mask. Here are just a few examples r e l a t e d to the trap that interests us*.

In Latin, *larza* - in the plural - was originally a term for nocturnal spectres and fiends. It also appears as an insult and is also the name of the mask (Horace, sat. 1, 5, 64). This case is all the more likely to b e used because the connection between *if'ersu* and lorroe had previously become clear to us. According to the testimony of Aelius Stilo (Paul. Fest., p. 129 M.), they were identical with the *larnae, and* were therefore also underworld deities *(larras id ert manes deos deasgue),* just as the goddess Planta was regarded as the mother of the larae and was worshipped together with them at the Compitalia. The same grammarian distinguished a different meaning from this: jcfo gtiaedam *e:s (arina* 4i3 *hominuni figuras* - i.e. images made of dough, which were so called because of their grimacing character, i.e. because of their resemblance to the marine == *lar "ae.* Simius Capito (Fest., p. 145 M.) interpreted these *maniae* more precisely as *de[ormes personal,*

' See also Bieber, RE 14, 2107 f.

° &then. Mitt. 53, 89. The mask mentioned by Wrede under No. 2 (p. 70 f. ; Pl. II-III Supp. XXIII 2) was, as G. Blümel has recognised, an Aeheloos (Katal. der griech. Skulpt. d. 5. u. 4. J ahrh. 2 f.)¡ cf. anch W. Wrede, 1. c. 76 ¡ Bieber, ltE 14, 8117 f.

• E. Douglas van Buren, Fignrative Terracotta-revetment9 6 f. ; W. Wrede, 1. c. 91. Further at 11. ß l ü h l e s t e i n , 1. c. Fig. 144-146.

* Inderes still in H. Güntert, Calypso 114.

* On the following W. F. Otto, Die Hanen 54 f.

• \V. F. Otto, Arch. f. lat. leaik. 15, 115.

' W. F. Otto, 1. c. 116 ¡ Testimonies in G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 240 note 2 ; Roscher II 2, 2323 f.

i.e. as grotesque masks, and the same recurs anch Schol. Perß., sat. 6, 56. There it is said of the poet: fnnium *dicit de(ormem et ignolvm hominem eo* guod *maniae* ***dicvnlvr in-*** *decori "ullus personae,* guihus *pueri lerrentur.* That these grimacing images in the verse Varros, sat. Men. fr. 463 B., where it is said that one hangs the Laren ntatiios (cod. ntariiins), has been shown by W. F. Otto.' Here the meanings "spectre of the dead" and "grimace, if aske" m e r g e into one another.

A Greek example may supplementthis. Oneknows the Mormolyke or, in a shortened form of the name, the Mormo ; she belongs to the circle of Hecate and probably only represents an apparent form of her" Derived from the name of the Mormolyke is that of the ***goqpolvzeiov*** .such was hung in Athens and is interpreted as **upowwutior** eaf'poQor (Aristoph. fr. 131 k. ; Phrynichos p. 367 Lob. ; Etym. Magn. s. v. top 'o- Zvxe'or). Further, Plato, Phaid. 77- compares t h e fear of death with that of such a popyolvzeior; according to Timaeus, lex. s . v. it is nm 'poQepö **Dory natur** *uqoon'utia;* also *"ianiae* were masks, *guibus pueri lerrentur.*

And just as ***Manius*** could be used to refer to a person with a deformedappearance die , as has become an insult, so **poppolvzsior** is also used in this sense (Philostrat., v. Apoll. 4, 25; Lukian., Philops. 23; Toxaris 24 ;[r] *Zeox.* 12). In addition, the transition to the designation of the stage mask is already present here: Aristoph. fr. 31 K. speaks of the zu'pydixo jzoppoJvxtior and Hesych s. v. of the popyolveein as the z'iir

A brief reference to the type of bedentnnga development should be included here. Not only do the names of deities of the dead evolve into those of the mask, they also serve as a pop dance, a means of frightening the enemy. Anch the death demon ***'fersv*** must not only have given the name to the mask, but must also have been transformed into a comic figure in order to f i n d his place in the Atellane.

' 1. e. 113 f. ° E. Rohde, Psyehe P-, 409.

• W. F. Otto, Die bauen 65.

4 Entsprechend heißt es bei Suidas s. v. *γόργια· παρὰ Δωριεῦσι τὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν προσωπεῖα, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τραγῳδῶν.*

For there is no doubt that the actor wearing the costume of the god once portrayed him; on the Tomba degli auguri we see the beginning of the development. It is easy to prove that other deities of the dead and the underworld also appear as comic figures. Some has
H. Güntert; the same process can also be observed with the Akko, the Lamia, the Banbo and other beings of the underworld." An example in Latin that has not yet been discussed is a .ttellan title of the Novin, which is presented to us in Non. p. 154, 18 II. as *Mama* (miatn F") *medica,*
p. 221, 1 is handed down with a slight misspelling as miaio *medica.* It can only mean: "Mania as a doctor"; thus the goddess appeared as a comic figure in the play itself.

But let us return once again to the name of the mask, where a case is still pending. The players of the laconic farce, the dsix§1*xsoi, are named after their masks, the dsizrJn.- For this word we also find the meaning g'i "po (Hesych) or p'ivzo "ya (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1672), so that again a similar change asis to be foundat This is where our case is most likely to be found. For not only are the *personati* called the players of the Atellane, also after their 6task, but this itself is named after a being of the underworld, the god or demon *'persu.* The fact that this deity was represented by a masked man in the mortuary games certainly helped.

It remains to be discussed how we should categorise the difference between the suffix *'persu* and *persona* here. For this is where our case differs from *lar "a,* media nnd defx\7 or, where the designation of Ilaske and divine being is not differentiated by a suffix.

Let us proceed from §por "animal" and *t Jdtov* "animal image" - the latter, the image, is designated as the lesser by the suffix. And that otherwise the image was also perceived as the smaller one is shown by drdpici9 "image of a man" as opposed to örjp; that the adjectival -at suffix has a diminutive function

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' **Calypso 76 note 1.** ° Grnsius, **RE 1, 1171 f.**

• E. Rohde, Psyche 2, 407 f. ; 410.

* **U. v. Wilamowitz, Aristoph. Lysiatr. 12; F.** Bölte, Rhein. **Aus. 78, 141** Note 2. ° F. Bölte, 1. c. 141.

has been proven by Kretschmer '. Another case is osk dińtn/a-, known from a series of Capoan inscriptions (Planta 130 f. ; Conway 102 f.)." The àVort erseheint is partly carved on stele-like tuff cippos or slabs, partly moulded onto burnt bricks. The cippos itself is referred to as a *diúzila.* In a whole series of cases the inscriptions are provided with emblems, which are consecrated as a kind of family coat of arms - of certain families in connection with the Knlt of the Dead ; accordingly, a *diú ila-* is labelled as that of the Terentians or Spurius Calovin and his brothers. If we remember that the deity can often be represented by stelae or pillars, the thought suggests itself that *diútnla* originally meant such an "image of the gods" or, more precisely, an "image of Juppiter". Again, the image would then have been understood as the lesser one . whereby this character was expressed once by the diminutive suffix *-lv-* and then again by the genus.

This interpretation is confirmed by the finds in the sanctuary of Malophoros in Selinunte, published by E. Gàbrici[s] . There, next to the earth goddess of the underworld - god - (Zeus) is 3lelichios or Milichios, who also appears in the Oscan inscription Planta 28 (Conway 39) all *iú "eis nieeilíkiieis* (ten. So when the *M"xiztod* air ffI*'"vòöv* or that of Lykiskos (Nrx'u o e{iì *3fzŻí2ioç)* is spoken of in Selinunt, we have the counterpart to the *diúNla-* of the Terentians etc., as we encountered them in Capua. The stele form of the ÒtonomenteÓ is similar on both sides - indeed, it is expressly said that Zeus Meilichios of Sikyon was worshipped in the form of an *arp"/tí9* (Pans. 2, 9, 6). Stan will thus unhesitatingly attribute the Cainpanic *iorilae all ur-

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' Glotta 14, 84 f.

° On the following G. D. Buck, Elementarb. d. osk.-umbr. Dial. 148 f. and the literature cited there.

An illustration in G. D. Brick, Gramm. of. Ose. u. Umbr., plate I.

• Conway, The ital. dial. 1, 104 f. ° õionum. Line. 38.

° I. c. 403 f. ; cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, D. Iliaø u. Homer 290.

' On the Poøipeian temple of Juppiter Nilichin's rergl. A. ôfaiuri, Pompeii 34 ; A. Mau, Pompeii 168f.

• 1. e. 382 f. ; F. v. Duhn, Gnomon 5, 538¡ U. v. Wilamowitz, Hermes 65, 258. - l. e., tav. 92, 1-2.

The original depictions of Juppiter Ililichius and may derive their name from there.

Finally, one last case. We had **previously mentioned** the ciaaioe, which are described as identical with the *lar "ae,* i.e. the ghosts of the underworld (p. 61). The same name w a s also given to images moulded on dough, which in their grimacing cha.ract seemed to reproduce those ghosts. They were thus images of the marine. But then we understand that Paul. Fest. p. 128 M. also cites the name moii3ofoe for them; again, the replica is d e s c r i b e d as the smaller one.

Here *persona* can now be connected next to ***'yersu. As*** we saw at the beginning, *persona* also means the lesser; only that it is not the "lesser" *':fersi,i* but his image. We may therefore conclude that the mask was originally conceived as an image of the god of the dead.

Oscilla

1.

We are now equipped to tackle a much-disputed problem of Roman religious history - indeed, of ancient history in general: the hanging and swinging of the *oscilla.* It will help us to demonstrate another important link between the 2laske and the cult of the dead. But our assertion that the Italic Liber was none other than Dionysus from the beginning will also receive new support from there.

Let's start with some monumental evidence. - In Pompeii, in the Casa degli amorini dorati, I found a series of small herms which, formed like pilasters in their lower part, bear relief depictions of masks as crowns: those of satyrs, Silenes and Tritons, and the bearded Dionysus." The flanks of the pilasters are also decorated with depictions of

' I **owe** the reference to the **testimony I** overlooked **to** my ßörer E. Tabeling.

• Also **yopyo1vxizo>** next to **3foi'po1r** 9 and yd$_e$ **ytoe next to** fopyN will be **cannot** be understood otherwise ¡ **cf. the below** p. 67 on e•• **=-ior and "zoydz-or** remarked .- Not. d. **scav. 1907, 568 f.**

among which one motif in particular stands out: a stylised sacred banner, entwined with ivy, with masks suspended on either side.' One might think that the pilasters supporting the òtasque reliefs have replaced the banm ; in one of the Grimanian fountain reliefs - a solemn mask-bearing pilaster is seen next to a banm with an altar, which is characterised as a Dionysian temple by the leaning 'fhyrsos' staff. In any case, there are also other Dionygian-spherical sculptures attached to trees and bushes. An important piece is the so-called 'Coupe des Ptolemées' in Paris, which - like the Grimanian reliefs - is certainly a work of Roman art.* Here the masks suspended from the trees alternate with those p l a c e d on tablets and pilasters, even on the ground.

What does this hanging of diony8ic if aaken zn mean ? - In the Georgica, Yergil speaks of the Italian Baners *(Avsonii* co/oai) celebrating the feast of Liber with songs and merrymaking:

2, 386 *ersibus incomplis ludunt risugue* solute,
oragve cortioibus sumunl horrenda ca "atis,
el te Bacche zocant per carmina meta, liöigue
oscilla e:s alia suspendvnt mollia pinv.

As we can see, the last few words describe the same branch t h a t we had previously encountered in the monuments. Spruces are attached to *oscilla,* which are *c a l l e d m0llia* because they move back and forth *@ensilia* Serv. ; "ioòiIio Serv. Dan.).' The fact that these *oscilla* are nothing other than masks can still be clearly recognised.

The first clue is provided by the etymology ": the connection with *os, oris* should be recognisable. This is corroborated by the glogseii which the translation *aco$ióiiov* (GL 2, 140, 12), *:isqóonin:ov* (523, 49) or npoøuieior (423, 53). Another

' Not. d. scar. 1907, 668 fig. 18; õ72 fig. 51¡ 576 fig. 25.
• G. Rodenwaldt, Das griech. Relief, fig. 125.
• A. Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen 3, 156 f.¡ 11. B. Walters, The art the Roman pl. LIII. J.Sieveking, Feetsehrift Årndt 24.
* I-I. B. Walters, 1. c. 182.
• For more on this, see Darømberg gaglio IY 1, 257
f. ' Anders P. 3larx, **Rhein. tins.** 78, 40ii.
• ¥g1. A. Walde, Latein. etym. Wörterb.- b49.

Another linguistic observation can be added: *Oscillum* appears to be formed with a diminutive nffix compared to *os.* So here, too, the imitation of the face would be described as the smaller one; the case is analogous to what we had previously observed with *persona* versus *'persu* and the related cases. Also "zoyönor, apo niutiör over "ropn and np'i waoz
"face" are to be judged in this way; compare aaid/or "little child" to mais, oprf#'or "little bird" to opri9. The mythographic tradition presents us with more difficult problems, but it too seems to lead in the same direction.

Servina, Georg. 2, 389 has compiled the 6leinnngen of the ancient Virgil- explainers. He starts with the Icarus saga and the Attic branch of the https. After Icarus and Erigone were raptured, the Athenians searched for the bodies everywhere, even in the air, by swinging upwards on swings. But since many of the swings toppled, they made *[ormas ad oris* stii *siinifitod3aem,* hung them up and staggered them in place of the people. These replicas - masks, we may say - were called *oscilla* from the *ora cillere id est mo "ere.* - If we disregard the erroneous etymology, which, however, presupposes the fact that they were masks, we arrive at precisely the result we had to expect.

A second interpretation explains the *oscilla* as a ntemäro *irilia* that was made from flowers and hung between columns. Stan will therefore have to imagine a kind of gnirlande that imitated the shape of the phallus. The meaning of the8 will b e c o m e clear later; in any case, these *oscilla* w e r e movedby 3people equipped with 3lasks (ciousis *personis)* by bumping them with their heads in order to entertain the people Here, too, there is an etymology: they were called *oscilla* because they were moved with the gesture: good ore *cillebanlur* id *est monebantur.* the explanation contains many mysteries; it is important for us that 3laks are again associated with the *oscilla* if the two have not exactly been identified.

Another explanation given by Servins does not deal with the question of what the *oscilla* were, but only with the purpose of the custom: it is seen as a purification or expiation. We encounter an addendum

in the scholion of Servius Dan.: He thinks that the *oscilla* was hung up because the *pendulus [ruclus]* was peculiar to the liber, but then interprets the word itself independently of this remark by recalling the custom of sticking the heads *(copiio et ora)* of sacrificial animals on the top of poles. There is no reason to take this explanation seriously as such. What deserves attention, however, is that in it one encounters, if not a connection with the 3laske, at least a connection between *es* and *oscillum.*

The passage Festus, p. 194 II. must also be taken as significant evidence. Here the custom of *oscillare is* brought into connection with the death of Latinus (likewise Brev. Expos. in Georg. 2, 389), which will concern us in a later place - and then, after an allegorical explanation of the Schaokelritus, the legend of Icarus and Erigone is used again. More important is the opinion of Cornificius quoted at the beginning, who derives the word from the fact that good es *celare sint soliti personis propler "erecundiam,* gut *eo genere lusus utebantur.* A bermally, then, the connection of osriI/o with the ßlasken is encountered, so that our interpretation should now be quite secure.

One difficulty remains. Archaeology has become accustomed to using the name *oscilla* for a certain type of monument: Ilarmor discs decorated on one or two sides, which were found almost exclusively in the V'esten of the Roman Empire, most frequently in the vesur cities. We do not believe that this designation is wrong, but can be reconciled with our findings. The representations of these monuments originate preferably from the Dionysian circle; masks in particular also play a favoured role. Lippold * has therefore already assumed that the origin of this *oscilla* is to be sought in the cult of Dionysus. Moreover, on our monumental artefacts we occasionally encounter a use that corresponds to that of the Dionysian masks (hanging from trees).sAnd if we can observe in Pompeii that these osciffu were suspended between the columns of the peristyle ", so

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' **For** a **further attempt at an explanation skipped here see** p. 84 **below.**
G. Lippold, **Arehäol.** Jahrb. **1921, 35.** - O. **Lippold, 1.** c. 40.
• 1. c 41. * G. **Lippold, 1.** c. **41 note 73.** - G. Lippold, 1. c. 36.

one remembers that Servins remarks of them in the aforementioned passage: *suspendebantur per inłercolumnia.*

The branch of rural Liberalia mentioned by Virgil is probably interpreted in this way. It is a branch of hanging masks and related equipment. The fact that this branch, as well as the others mentioned in the description of the Georgica, was perceived by the judge as something ancient, seems to be suggested by the mention of the *versus incompli*' and the primi- tive nature of the cloaks worn by the participants. Both are reminiscent of the earliest form of the Attic Dionysia or of the activities of the *'f'aIIo'póqot* nnd í#čøoJZoi, of which Semos of Delos (near Athens. 622 Bf.) tells us. It therefore seems entirely possible that elements of the oldest Liber cult have been preserved in the feast of the Italic peasants.

There is another decisive factor. It can be compared with the custom of the *oscilta* that in Attica the mask of Dionysus himself was hung o n a pole made as a tree; surviving masks and vase paintings give us an idea of this, as Wrede recently wrote in an essay on the "The correspondence is a very curious one, above all in the fact that the god himself - or rather: his image - is what is suspended. For t h e same is also the case with the *oscilla*: they are Dionysian masks, images of the god himself or of deities from his circle, and if a phallos made of flowers appears next to them in the literary narrative *, we have already learnt enough about it earlier as an image of the god.

2.

Dionysus, who hangs from the banme, belongs to a larger circle of deities, all of whom are known as thedp "ys '. "hanged" or "hanged people".[5] In the first instance

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' ***Doze*** **F. Marx,** Rhein. Mus. 78, 405 **- Athens. Pitt. S3, 83 f.**

• On **a** cauldron crater at Fasano (Gnathia), **published in the** 11th **Bull,** Festschrift **James** Loeb **25 (1bb. 11 and 11 a),** a silken mask appears between hanging garlands. Does it belong in our **context?**

• W. Wrede, 1. c. 86.

* 11 Usener, Götternamen 239 f. (his interpretation of the moon is

The second line is the Artemis 'AnoyyotiNy, who was worshipped in the Arka- dian Kondylea, not far from Kaphyai. According to Pausanias (8, 23, 6 f.), she was originally called Kondyleatis and was later renamed. He t e l l s the legend that playing children once found a rope, wrapped it around the goddess's neck and proclaimed 6abei,
'i'9 äa'iy2orro "Ap'rp's. When the inhabitants of Kaphyai stoned the children as punishment, their wives were left with stillbirths. The Pythian oracle advised them to bury the children and o f f e r them an annual sacrifice, because they had been killed unjustly. This was done, and at the same time, also on the instructions of Pythia, Artemis was henceforth c a l l e d
'Απαγχομένη.[1]

How is this tradition to be judged? - Since we will have to refer to similar traditions several times in the following, a brief methodological remark will be in order. In our case we have a certain branch of the Knltbranch and a legend which is supposed to explain the origin of this branch. Such aetiological legends are usually met with suspicion, even outright rejection. And this much is certain, that they usually say nothing about the real, historical origin of the phenomenon in question. But that does not make them worthless for us. For even if they are not able to provide any historical clues, they do provide a statement about what thoughts and ideas were associated with that apparition, what could be perceived as related or coinciding; they provide a statement about the mythical origin of the apparition.
"shape" of the custom in question. Or to put it another way: although those aetiological narratives do not tell us how a rite or knit came into being, they do tell us what it meant. In principle, in this sense, every aetiological narrative can be

today nobody sustimmen) ; 0. group, Grieeh. Ilyth. 735¡ Preller-Robert, Oriech. Hythol. 1, 30ö note 2 ¡ 0. Weinreich, Ileilungsw. 1b4 note 3.

' Usener's ingenious attempt to connect Kondylea-Kondyleatis with Lyd. *Kav3aülyc* (Götternamen 240), fails because of the different sounds, but also because Hermes Raedai29r has recently been excellently explained by E. Sittig (Knhns Zeitsehr. SS, 204 f.) as the god of dice and luck, who kills the "iinnd", i.e. the bad throw. Artemis, who is close to Hecate, is probably nothing to do w i t h an "iundswürgerin". Yergl. aoeh Af. P. Nilsson, Griech. Feste 232 1nm. 6.

be utilised as a "source". For everywhere, even if covered by "rationalistic" dentnng and linguistic speculation, an idea can be found everywhere that gives an idea of the mythical core, of the mythical meaning of an apparition and thus of its actual essence. In our particular case, it was Artemis herself who was "hanged" or "suspended"; this corresponds to what we had already observed in the cult of Dionysus. The cult of the goddess is also associated with a sacrifice to the dead or heroes to the stoned children. This connection with the dead seems to correspond to the fact that Artemis herself a p p e a r s as a death-bringing goddess: she sends doom t o women who give birth. That these traits, which we have thus picked out, cannot be thoughtless or even arbitrary inventions is proven by the fact that they always recur where it is a question of the dead. "attached" gods.

In Clemens Alex., Protr. 2, 38 the Arcadian 'üany- 2opfry stands next to the Artemis Kondylitis of Älethymna on Lesbos, but without anything more than the correspondence with the epithet Kondyleatis. On the other hand, the story of the Ephesian A r t e m i s in Callimachus (Ensthat. z. Odyss. p. 1714, 13 ; 2, 35fi Schn.; cf. anch Bekk., Anecd. 1, 336 f.) certainly belongs here. The wife of Ephesus had turned Artemis away from the threshold and was therefore t r a n s f o r m e d into a bitch, but was then restored to her former form by the compassionate goddess. When she hangs herself out of shame, Artemis gives her the name Hecate and thus a divine character. The hanged woman is therefore identical with the goddess, the mistress of souls; but one cannot separate the form of Hecate from the dogs of Hecate." Thus the correspondence with the previous legend can no longer be overlooked. Just as there Artemis was first "hanged" by the children and then appears as *'Aua//o ilvy'* in the child itself, the same must be understood here. For in the wife of Liphesos, Hecate is also "hanged" and then worshipped as a goddess. but she is a 'nany2opZrr.

There are two other similar cases to be assessed. Zn-

' R **.P. Nilsson, Griech. I'este 233.** ° **H.P. Nilason, 1. c. 233.**

• **11 Usener, Kleine Schriften 4, 30 note 56 ¡ Götternamen 840.**

next the legend of Aspalis (Anton. Lib. 13 - Mythogr. Gr. 2, 1, p. 87 f.). She is ravished by the tyrant Tartarus and ends her life by hanging. When they want to take her from the line, she has disappeared, but a new one appears next to the image of Artemis, which is henceforth worshipped as 'AtrnnZi9 'AprilJr§ *'Sxaéqzy*. The Aspalis is thus identical with Artemis (o6er belongs in her immediate vicinity), so that here too the goddess appears as an 'inoyyo/i?rp'. The relationship to the underworld and the dead is also encountered: The deceased or raptress receives the sacrifice of an attached goat, which is otherwise characteristic of the chthonic sphere; likewise one will not fail to recognise such a relationship in the name of Tartarus.

Helena diröpin9 on Rhodog also belongs here. Pausanias (3, 19, 10) tells us that Polyxo wanted to avenge the death of Tlepolemos on the woman who had landed on the island. The servants she sent, disguised as Erinyes, seized Helen in the bath and hanged her from a tree. Polyxo is probably rightly recognised as a transparent disguise of the Queen of Hades, who rules over the Erinyes "; the name seems like the feminine of the well-known epithet of Hades (ao10§ero9). The dtröpiris, however, belongs to the Dionysos-dcrdpfz5s, so she was also worshipped as the "hanged one".

If we go to Rome, we encounter a similar idea. In the cult of the lares, at the Compitalia, balls (piToe) and dolls made of wool are hung up, gmd *lares ... animae pvla- bantur esse hominum redactae in numervm deoruni* (Paul. Fest., p. 121 M.; cf. p. 239 M.). That these dolls belong together with the moaioe, which the girl in Varro, sat. Glen. fr. 436 B. to the Lares is recognised.* These mine were, as we have seen, grimacing masks and originally a designation of ghostly deities of the dead identical with the teme ; but they cannot be separated from the underworld goddess Mania, the mother of the Lares.[s] So those dolls, the *maniae,* were images of these deities; the gods themselves

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' **ii. Usener, Kl. 3chriHen 4, 194** ; **Götternamen 540.**

' H.P. Nilsson, **Griech. Feste 236.** **- E. Maaß,** Aratea 368.

• W. F. Otto, **Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. 15, 114 f.**

° W. F. Otto, 1. c. 11ti and above p. 61 t.

are again the ones that were hung up. In fact, Alacrobins 1, 7, 35 speaks of *e[fiigies Maniae suspensae* in the same context. It is probably most logical to take louiee as a genitive, not as a dative, and this would confirm our view.

One particular moment needs to be emphasised. Paulus Fest. n o t e s in the second of the above-mentioned passages that *tot pilae, guot capila servorum, tot e[)gies,* grot *essent liberi,* were hanged, ui (fiares) rich *parcerenl et essent his pilis et simulacris conlenli.* (Similarly Alacrob., 1. c.). What i s to be understood by this ? - Wissowa has aptly emphasised that it cannot be the replacement of a human sacrifice; it is also all the less probable as the dolls were not representations of humans, but of Mania itself. But one is involuntarily reminded of another trait. The oracle had commanded the inhabitants of Kaphyai to worship Artemis Kondyleatis henceforth as 'Nn "*y-drawn Ivy*, so that she would cease her witting against the fruit in the mortal body. Again, the hanging of the goddess has the consequence of *aims parcat.*

The inhabitant of Kaphyai is not only told by the oracle a new form of Artemis worship, but also an annual funeral sacrifice to the stoned children. They had died at an early age and in a violent manner, or in other words: they had passed away as öopoi and qiaio#'iroroi. That it was for their sake that the death of women afflicted the inhabitants of Kaphyai is consistent with what we hear elsewhere. Among the souls that wander by night and threaten the living with danger, those of the öwpoi and Qiaio#drnzo are the most feared." In Kaphyai, of course, the death did not come from the ***Jvyai*** of the murdered children.

— at least not directly - but Artemis had made herself their advocate, as it were. However, Plntarch's remark about Artemis Aristobule (Them. 22) shows that Artemis also h a s other connections with the violently killed. She was worshipped in the Attic Gan 3lelite and at her sanctuary

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' **A** more detailed treatment **will be provided** elsewhere.

• Bnkdlt - 167 Note 6¡ RAL II S, 1874.

• Rohde, Psyche 8, 411 f. Reinach, Wide, ARW 9, 312 d. ; IS, 224 8.

• GtiiaR 146 note 3.

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From then on, we understand why Aspalis, who at the same time before her time had been killed in a violent manner, this time as a

'rvzo4'irnso9, died, who stood by Artemis. The fact that the nene deity was also a corrupting being is expressed by the designation as 'Ayei1fi§. Then it can no longer be denied that if she was thought of as a dan22oyüry and accordingly worshipped by the sacrifice of an attached goat, this was done for the same reason as with Artemis herself: The aim was to ward off the impending doom.

The fact that the Helena derdpizis and the Fran of Ephesus belong in the same context has already been stated; the manner of death and the form of worship correspond to the previous cases. In the Fran of Ephesus, moreover, Artemis appears again; the fact that the hanged woman herself is transformed into Hecate confirms our interpretation.

We saw that, according to Paul's assertion, the Lares were *animae hominum redaclae in numerum deorvm*. How far this reflects the nature of these deities remains unasked here. Suffice it to say that they were associated with the underworld and the dead, and this is connected with the fact that they were feared for the salvation of the living. If we further consider that they are connected with the paths, they are rightly compared to the nocturnal swarm of Hecate localised at the crossroads. This brings us close to this goddess again. We are also pointed in the same direction by Artemis.

For just as she and Hecate are largely in contact elsewhere, so they are in our particular case. Hecate is not only the guide of the nocturnal souls in general, she is preferably so for the souls of the Qiaio#'irazo'. We thus already understand why it was Hecate in particular into whom the wife of Ephesus was transformed. The epithet 'AzaZpy§, which Aspalis bears, points just as much to the circle of Hecate as to that of Artemis." Let us now hear further about a demonic

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' W. F. Otto, Arch. f. latein. Lexikogr. 15, 117 f.

• E. Rohde, Psyehe 2, 418 f. - Jeasen, ltE 7, 2663.

If, in the case of the being that was close to Hecate and perhaps a special manifestation of her, the Gello, she herself ßel ttl8 u "pPJ o9 (thus ale ó'opoç) died and became a ød saøy" that killed the children and caused zoùç air ó i l 'por 4arósorç (Zenob. 3, 3 ; Hesych s. v. PsZJñ) - so it will be dentlich what, in the case we have just mentioned, the honouring of Hecate as óaoy2o¿ičry meant.

It will now be clear that the hanging of the gods or their images always occurs where it is necessary to avert an impending disaster." A further explanation can be a d d e d o n the basis of this observation.

In Delphi there was an ennaëteric festival called *ynpíZa*. Plutarch, who tells us about it, relates the following story (Quaest. Graec. 12). During a great hardship in Delphi, a girl named Charila, among many others, asked for grain at the king's door. But the king struck her in the face with his sword and the girl hanged herself out of shame. As the famine became even worse, the oracle was consulted: it ordered that Charila's death b e atoned for. this was done in such a way that every nine years the king distributed grain and a doll bearing the same name received a blow from him. The leader of the Thyads then carried her to the place where the girl had hanged herself, wrapped a rush rope around her neck and buried her in the ground.

The correspondence with what has gone before can hardly be overlooked. Certainly the Charila was first and f o r e m o s t a "harvest or vegetation festival", but like many such

' E. Rohde, 1. c. 2, 412.

• M. P. Nilsson (€'rieeh. Fest. 234) had wanted to place the passage Od. 3, 273 f. here. Aigisthos sacrifices to the gods and hangs up images and other votive offerings for them after he has won $lytaimestra and with her the reign of power. However, łlomer by no means says that this hanging was done to avert the destruction threatened by Agamemnon. Aigisthos Int it rather e "ze1c "as yry" epyo-, ß of more Ma-zo My - i.e. because he succeeded in doing what he had never dared to do. Cf.
U. v. Wilamowits, Odyssens' Homecoming 121.

• The usual explanation that an expired period was closed here rind carried to the grave (T-I. Usener, KI. Very. 4, 11-7, W. õlannhardt, Wald- und Feldkulte 2, 298 ¡ Preller-Robert, Griech. Mythol. 1, 287 Arim. 2), lets the train ees of hanging oneself and the mention of the henchman's distress entirely o u t s i d e of Yergl. anch H. P. Nilsson, Griech. Feste 466 f.

Feste ' it was connected with an atonement branch. The number nine, which we so often find connected with the 'fotenknlt ', already speaks in favour of this; the legend itself also speaks in favour of this. For Charila is again a depot and also died violently as a?'o#'irazos; in her case, too, we find the knlt worship under the form of hanging. The correspondence with the story of the Milesian maidens preserved b y Plntarch (mm. virt. p. 249 B and tiellios lö, 10) is very noteworthy. Here an epidemic of suicide among the girls of the city is combated b y carrying the bodies of those hanged at the funeral through the market unclothed and with a noose around their necks (Gellius). One might think that this was a similar idea to the delphi charila, if Plntarch had not explicitly emphasised that this measure was intended to influence the girls' sense of shame and thus control the spread of the plague. Thus the value of this testimony must remain questionable; but that Plutarch's interpretation could perhaps h a v e come about secondarily and superseded the original may at least be surmised.

If, after this digression, we return to the festival of the rural Liberalia, an initial judgement should be possible on the basis of what we have learned so far. If *oscilla,* i.e. images of the god in the form of a mask, were hung up at this festival, this must also have been intended as a defence against destruction. What kind it was can already be surmised on the basis of our earlier findings. Here, too, it must have been 'notes - nézo#'irosoi. *fiaioPöva'ot* nd Empor, nm to retain our designations - which meanwhile wander around at night and bring destruction. This connection with the souls of the deceased is confirmed by the position of the Liberalia in the calendar. This is because they are preceded by a festival whose connection with the Knights of the Dead we hope to prove below: the day of Anna Perenna on 16 March.

' W. F. Otto, Philol. 64, 196.

• **H. Diels, Sibyllin. Blätt. 39 f. and above p. 7.**

But if it belongs to the deceased, it stands to reason that the other festival, our Liberalia, also had a similar character. Or to put it another way: the Liber-Dionysus worshipped here was the 'fotengott', the lord of the swarming souls. If our previous conclusion is correct, then the rural Liberalia, as described by Virgil, would have corresponded most closely to the Attic Anthesteria, the feast of the souls; with the onset of spring, the rising of the sap and the growth of vegetation, they begin to leave their subterranean abodes and swarm. Accordingly, the Attic worship of the pendant Dionysus mask, which we had previously placed alongside the *oscilla,* falls on the Choen festival, the second day of the Anthesteria. But a second relationship also comes to mind. The various scholia to the Vergil passage Georg. 2, 385 f. refer to the Attic *"AiNp"* for the interpretation of the Roman custom. It is also closely related to the anthesteria. Although it does not fall on the day of Choen, as has been suggested[5], it must have been close in time to it: A fragment from the A'ne of Kallimachos (0x. Pap. XI 1362) appends the a ireios 'iy "rzi'p of the Erigone, i .e. the N'Npe, to the Pithoigia and Choen. [6] What is even more important is what the Erigone legend - even to the hand.

When the Attic peasants, it is said, received the gift of wine from Icarus, they consider themselves poisoned and kill their benefactor. No 'daughter Erigone or Aletis searches for her father's grave, and when she finds it on Mount Hy- mettos, she hangs herself on a tree there. Zeus or Dionysus then places her and her father among the stars, but the Athenians are punished by their daughters hanging themselves in the same way as Erigone. The oracle promises relief if the corpse is found and atonement is made. However, as the body is not found, the celebration of the Aiora is organised, during which all kinds of images, including masks, are waved in the air.

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[4] W. Wrede, 1. e. 81 f. - A. Körte, Rhein. Mus. 71, 678.

[5] L. Malten , -fermes 53, 152 ; R. Pfeiler , Kallimachosßtud. 102 f. ; **If. P. Nilsson, Eranos 15, 191 f.** - E. Maaß, Philol. 77, 3 **and L.** Deubner, **Festschr. P.** Clemen **113 f. think of the** Ghytren ¡ **on the other hand R. Pfeiler, 1.** c. **103 note 3.** - The **testimonies in full in E. lfaaß, Anal. Erathost. 60 f.**

Stan thought that the rocking of the masks signified an idea "that should be kept away from the Greek custom" and was "based on contamination with Roman customs".[1] But we have seen that the rocking of the *oscilla* cannot be separated from the worship of Dionysus in the mask, and so it will also be advisable here not to dismiss the evidence out of hand. All the more so as the tombs in neighbouring Boeotia have yielded a whole series of Arehaic Dionysus masks in terracotta.[s] Their location shows that they belong (as we must expect) to the sphere of the dead. And if they have "holes for hanging like so many protomes", and were therefore intended as "votive offerings to the god of the Othasken", they were real *oscilla,* similar to those we encountered in Italy.

This is confirmed by several other findings. J. Boehlan * has published archaic silken masks from the necropolis of Samos ; they were also provided with holes on the sides, i.e. intended for hanging or for attachment to a pole similar to the Attic pieces. Another specimen from Olbia was made known by C. Weickert °, who recalled similar South Russian and Samian pieces - ; here too a grave can be assumed as the place of discovery.

Let us go into more detail. - According to Sem. Georg. 2, 389, after the death of Icarus and Erigone, the Athenian virgins were afflicted by an epidemic, after which they hanged themselves in madness. To remedy the situation, the oracle advised them to search for the bodies of the two. When they were unable to find them on the ground, the Athenians hung *themselves ad ostendendani suam de "otio-* nem ropes from trees and swung themselves up into the air, oi gunsi el *per* aöre "i *illorvm cado- Hera guaerere "iderentur.* As too many of them fall down, they are limited to making oil sinks and swinging them instead of the branches.

As we can see, the swaying of the ovens and of the masks was regarded as a rite of atonement for the death of Icarus and Erigone. The fact that the Athenian virgins themselves

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' L. Deubner, Festsehr. P. Clem **en 11ii; rorsiehtiger B. P. Nilsson, Eranos U, 1ö9.** - W. Wrede, 1. e. **90f. W. Wrede, 1. e**. 90.

• **From Ionian and Italian necropolises 157 f.** ; **'laf. BIII 1. 6.**

*** Festschrift Jamea Loeb 10S f.** - C. Weickert, 1. e. 110.

L. Denbner, who dealt with the evidence last, has already come to the conclusion on the basis of other considerations that it must be a chthonic-cathartic branch.

We have already seen that the same is likely for the *oscilla.* However, the 'fact that the rocking of the masks is supposed to be a substitute for the chanting 3fensehen gives cause for concern. For if this custom still existed in historical times, there can be no question of such a replacement.

If we look more closely, however, Servius claims that the Ilenschen were **replaced** by the blasken, but his view is by no means shared by the other authors. The so-called Brevis expositio remarks on Georg. 2, 389, that the ropes on which they swung were called *0scilla*." This is, of course, an absurdity, but it shows that one was not quite sure of the matter. Hygin. further reports, Astron. 2, 4: am iaheIIo *inlerposita [unibus se iaclarenl, uf* gut *pendens "ento mo "etur,* giiod *sacri)cium soferne instiluerunt.* He thus only recognises the swaying of men, while Probus, Georg. 2, 3b9 remarks that a *sacrificium* had been established for Ikaros and Erigone ploos ut *numinibus*, guo *oscilla imitarenlur suspendia Allicarum tirginum ;* but he mentions nothing of the swayed men.

According to this, it seems as if there are two separate Customs that were attributed to the same mythical n(stor. In that case, one would not originally have been replaced by the other. In fact, we must expect this from the outset. For not nnr that the swinging of the people continued in historical times and was therefore by no means replaced by the other custom - the *oscilta* do not represent Ötenschen (as we would have to assume according to Servins' explanation), but the god himself.

This seems to us to remove any objection to the hanging of Dionysian masks at the Aiora on the occasion of the death of Ikaros and Erigone. On the other hand, there is another piece of evidence that speaks in favour of our view.

' **Festschr.** P. Clemen **115 f.** ; **rgl. H. P. Nilsson, Eranos 15, 189 f.**

• Similarly 8chol. **in Germanic. Arat. p. 67,** 6 **f. Breys. cc quo** 5octiim ert, **nt roli osciflo** iactareator ***liomin€8.*** **Here, too,** ***occillum*** **--** ***Imf4t€4t8-***

According to Pausanias 2, 2, 6, there were moors of Dionysos Lysios rind Bakcheios in Corinth that were covered with gold - 'ó di *uqóaw:rna* óZoirpÿ øpíoir ipr#o *zezóagyviai.* The faces were thus specially emphasised and coloured with red for this purpose, as we hear elsewhere, e . g. from the face of Dionysus 'Axpœroiyòpo9 in Phigalia (Pans. 8, ü9, 6). But even the aforementioned Boeotian *oscilla* show red colouring for the face of the god ", and not only the §óara of Corinth, but even more so the god of Phigali a can be compared to them. For he too was a kind of òlasque: According to Pausanias, only the face of his cult image was visible at all.

There is yet another train that belongs here. In Eratosthenes' Erigone there was talk of the origin of the Dionysian The special feature reported in Eratosthenes' Erigone is that on this occasion the peasants smeared their faces with wine yeast (ipć) and thus sang their songs and performed their dances." Perhaps we can assume that this yeast was actually a red colour. Then the dionysiac players would have dressed themselves as the god would have done. This can be compared to the role of the Dionysian costume in later drama: Here, as there, the actors originally appeared as üiòrrwoi themselves.

We may also refer to Virgil's 6th Eclogue, where Aigle sings to Silen after his awakening (race *identi* 21), before he intones his song in Dionysian enthusiasm,

sanguineis frontem sorts cl tenipora pingil.

Serving rightly recalls here the custom according to which the triumphator coloured his face with minium in order to appear in this respect as the image of the Capitoline Jnppiter. If the comparison is correct, then the Vergilian Silen would also have become the image of Dionysus through the colouring of his face. At the very least, he is the god's colour when he now rises to the mighty song that envelops the entire cosmos. But then the red

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' W. Wrede, 1. c. 89 Arim. 1 ¡ W. Nestle, Philol. 50, 500.

° W. Wrede, 1. e. 90¡ vgI. also M. Vayer, Athen. Pitt. 17, 448 note 1.

• *E. ßíaaß*, Anal. Erathost. 114 f. ; U. v. Wilamowits, Einltg. i. d. att. 'fragödie 62 f. * M. Bieber, Archaeol. Jahrb. 38, 15f.

dimension, the thought of the red mask of the god can no longer be dismissed.

Now this colour occurs very frequently in the cult of the dead ', and this would again refer us from the outset to a connection with the belief in the soul. A second moment confirms this assumption. We mentioned earlier t h a t only the face of the god of Phigalia was visible; Pausanias adds that the rest of the figure was concealed by ivy and laurel. M. Mayer " had already referred to a related depiction; the Uasken god Dionysus may also be remembered. For in his case, the pillar or pole on which he is hung is covered with branches and entwined with ivy." If this masked god comes to life at the Choen festival, this points, as we have seen, to Dionysus as the lord of souls. The red colour, as we have assumed for the Dionysian 3lasks, f i t s i n perfectly with this.

If we are therefore again referred to the chthonic sphere, it can be no coincidence that the two Corinthian rooms with the red-coloured, mask-like faces are related to the death o f Pentheus. According to Pausanias, the Pythia had ordered the tree on which he had been killed to be cut down "a zo je{u'"i§eir i therefore those images of Dionysus were made from the wood. This gives us the counterpart to the Erigone legend: here, too, someone had died on a tree, and again this leads to the yer ehrong of the god in the 3laske, or at least in a form reminiscent of it.

This brings us to the question of what the Erigonesage for the meaning of the *oscilla*. This much will be clear at first, that the hanging of the ottasks with the image of the god anch is done here to avert destruction. In addition, the correspondence with the cases we discussed earlier can be made much clearer. Anch Erigone is an oeopo9 like Aspalis, the wife of Ephesus, and Charila, and if we have just referred to the Pentheus saga, it is connected with the violent code of lkaros

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' **E. Wunderlich, The Red Colour 47 f.**

• 1. c. 267 f.; 448 f .-W. Wrede, 1. c. 83.

zn compare. So if the feast of Aiora honoured the souls, it was primarily the g "no rumor rind oöio#órazot - the souls of those who can find no peace and cause nightly destruction to the living. At the same time, we receive confirmation here of our earlier reminder of their affiliation to the swarm of Hecate. Accompanying Erigone appears her bitch, who is also carried away among the stars after the death of her mistress: Sic cannot be separated from the canine form of the Fran of Ephesus. And this corresponds perfectly to the fact that the name of the bitch, Maira, also appears as Artemis. 0d. 1, 326 and in Pherekydes in Schol. z. St. she is the daughter of Proitos and Anteia: she is killed by Artemis after she had given birth to Zeus the Lokroß. It is also said that she died all *naq9èvos* ; she would then also have been an óopos.

The death of Icarus and Erigone provokes a *(uror,* a øørcn, among the attic virgins, at the end of which they hang themselves like Erigone. In this we recognise that it is the wandering souls of the *a'''óyztqes* rind dtoto#órniot that bring destruction to mankind. The epi- demia that has grown among the Attic òf girls is finally eliminated by *hanging oscilla*. This again corresponds to the "hanged" deities we discussed earlier. Probus Georg. 2, 389 explicitly notes that in our case the hanging *was done* to Ikaros and Erigone piece td *numinibus.* Anch here this hanging then brings about a cessation of corruptionø.[1] Admittedly there is a difficulty on one point: the oscifTa are not images of Icarus and Erigone, but first of all of Dionysus himself. But that both belong to his immediate neighbourhood is unmistakable. It can also be recalled that

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' **Similar is the time when,** after the **murder** of **Icarus,** the **perpetrators** are driven **apó'- ópy -** yífems. But there the **epidemic is only** extinguished when clay phalli (§J'>a -'join) are set up at the oracle's command. Cf. E. Rohde, **Kl. Schriften 2, 367 f. and** the passages **cited there.** That **not only** the ***occìlía,* but also the phallos is the image** of **Dionysus, we** have seen **earlier**; we **may** also recall the **interpretation** of the **oscilfa as a** phallus made **of** flowers (ß. above **pp. 67 and 69). A** further **narrative belonging** here can be found in 0. Weinreich, Heilnngßw, **152 f.**

Among the surviving depictions of such oscilio we encounter not only Dionysus, but his entire swarm - satyrs, Silene, Mae- nads. After all we know about Dionysian ecstasy, we can expect that a dead person who appears among the swarm of Dionysian souls will himself become an image of God or his mythical guides.

We can therefore say that the *oscilla* do indeed point to the Knlt of Di0ny80S as lord of the swarming souls, as €tott of the dead, as we had already surmised earlier. They are his image or that of the demonic beings who belong to his entourage. And since the same custom is found in the rural Liberalia, the Italic Liber also proves to be i d e n t i c a l with Dionysus from this point of view.[1]

But the correctness of our statements can be proven even more clearly. - If, in the previous investigation, we had preferably encountered the suicides or the violently killed as swarming ("wandering") souls in the wake of Dionysus or Hecate, this finds the best possible confirmation in an explicit testimony. Varro in Servius Dan, Aen. 12, fi03 remarks: *suspendiosis,* g'ibtis *iusta freut* ***ivs non*** *sit,* ***suspensis oscillis rhymes*** *per imilalionem nsortis parentari.* There we have directly expressed what had turned out to be the result of our investigation ; that the suicides could otherwise be denied a proper *[vnus* is known.

Finally, it is important to avoid a misunderstanding. One could assume, on the basis of the Varrostelle, t h a t the addition of *oscilla* in Italy occurred at least only among the *suspendi0si*. Such an interpretation would overshoot the mark. The decisive factor is first of all the relationship

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' The result of the previous section is confirmed not only in this one point. Rather, when Serrius Dan., Georg. 2, 389 derives the **name of the *08üilla* daron,** good *hunc* ***lucum Occi*** **dicuntur** *pre- quenter ex:ereui8ce et rem* ***pey*** **Jt'ifinm** spnrsisse - the **mention** of the Oscians need by no means **be** due to an arbitrary **etymology**. On the contrary, it had previously appeared to us as probable that the Greek god to whom that rite was dedicated had come to Rome and Latium through the mediation of the Oscian tribe.

* E. Rohde, Payche 1, 217 note 5.

to Dionysus and his army. Moreover, the Varronian message must be understood to mean that among the possible forms of honouring the dead, only the *oscillalio* was conceded to the suicides. It could therefore also occur in other cases, but the fact that it was the only authorised form of death for the ***suspendiosi*** meant that it was preferably associated with them.

A depiction from Naples (1st century A.D.) shows that the *oscilla* could also have another meaning. There, on the frescoes of a newly discovered tomb, we encounter garlands and all kinds of sacred implements, above which, mounted high up on the tomb wall, is a suspended Dionysian 3laske'. Thus an ***oscillum,*** as we must assume after all - here related to the ' oten cult in general, not to the *suspendiosi* in particular. The same, however, is attested anch Servius Georg. 2, 389. After giving a number of explanations for the rite of *oscillatio*, he continues: *pruden- tioribus lamen aliud placel,* gui *äicunt, sacra fiiberi palris ad pur- gationem animae pertinere.* Accordingly, he also explains this hanging as a xnPnpyos, a chthonic rite of atonement, which does not refer to a particular class of Jry "*, but to them in general. Of course, we do not need to take the interpretation as ***purqalio*** *per aerem* from him, but there is another possibility for the swinging of the masks. But for this we need to go into another point in more detail.

Erigone hangs himself from the tree that stands on Icarus' grave. Accordingly, the *oscilla* are hung from trees, and likewise the god of measure Dionysus, the devdpizpp, is depicted hanging from a pillar that is carved out as a tree. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that Pentheus was killed on or by a tree and that the wood of this tree was used for the god's §ooror, whose similarity to the *oscilla* we emphasised earlier. And finally, Helen is also found on a tree.

' 3lonum. Linc. 31, 376 f.¡ cf. flg. 8 p. 389/90 and flg. 14 p. 399/400; Arch. Anz. 1988, 178 fig. 35.

and that a cult was offered to her on a plane tree , Theocritus has the Spartan öta girls say in his wedding song (18, 43f.). Admittedly, it remains questionable whether this passage belongs in any other context; it is better to be content with the attested cult of Helen drröpizi9 in Rhodes.

In almost all cases so far, there has been talk of a cult of the banme. Ikaros, for example, was thought to be a tree-hero, whose knit Dionysos had taken over ", Dionysos, whose 3laske was worshipped hanging from the banme, was thought to be a tree-hero.
"The same has also been said with regard to Helena.- For us, the task arises from the previous train of thought to define this "tree cult" in its essence a little more precisely and to show here the relationships to the chthonic sphere.

The fact that trees have been planted on the cemeteries since time immemorial seems to us to be an important factor. The Greek examples have recently been summarised by Rohde ; we will come to a Roman example in the next section, when we discuss the Juppiter Indiges of Lann- vinm. One immediately thinks of the tree on Ikaros' Crrabe , on which Erigone died. - Furthermore, however, it must be emphasised that the trees serve as dwellings for the souls of the dead. The connection with the previous moment is evident: the planting of the trees at the graves and their character as the seat and abode of the Jc2of explain each other. Rohde has collected the (mostly Roman) literary evidence - also for this - a n d we should also refer to a famous passage from Virgil. Aen. 6, 282 f. in the description of the forecourt of the underworld:

' G. Kaibel, Hermes 27, 25ö f.

• W. Wrede, 1. c. 93f. ° W. **Wrede,** 1. c. 86.

• **Bötticher, Baumknltns der I-tellenen** 50¡ **W. Mannhardt, Wald- und Feldknlte 8, 2ß** ; **H. P. Nilsson, Grieth. Feste 486.**

Psyche 1, 24 note 2 ; **230; L. Weniger, Altgriech. Baumkultus 7.**

• **1. c. 230 note 4; an analogue to primitive religion in L. Lévy-Brühl, Die Seele der Primitiven 301.**

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
ulmus opaca ingens, quam sedem somnia volgo
Dana lenere fervnt, foliisgve sub omnibus haerent.

Norden, who m e n t i o n s something comparable in his commentary, says that "the dreams were conceived as soul beings in the shape of birds". Of course, Virgil says nothing about such a form, and we have all the less reason to interpret this idea in his work, since in the other testimonies, where the souls are said to dwell in groves and on trees, nothing is said about a bird-like nature. However, the use of souls as a point of comparison is important, because one can hardly reject a connection between the two phenomena.

A. Dieterich - has touched on the problem in a few brief but strongly anchored remarks. Reference has also already b e e n m a d e to the connection between the tree and the oracle, especially the incarnation." We cannot g o into these questions any further here, as they would go far beyond the scope of our treatise. Only one piece of archaeological evidence should be mentioned here, if only because it is our oldest. On the Tomba dell'0rco in Tarqniini we see in the underworld the figures of Aga Memnon and Teiresias ; between them stands a banm or banm-like plant, in the branches of which small human figures are swaying.- Plan has already r e c o g n i s e d in them the souls of the dead (e*dwlo).- Here, too, they are hanging on a banm, and since this tree is not in the upper world but in Hades, the analogy to the Vergilian tree of dreams cannot be mistaken. Here we seem to come across an identity between the two ideas: Whether soul or dream seems to make no difference; both have their abode on a tree in the underworld.

This seems to be the famous image of the oldest §i}z belongs to the literature of poisoning and has so far been without analogue, has its origin in the Etruscan concept of the underworld

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' 2nd edition, p. 216 f .- Mother Earth 60.
° L. Weniger, Altgriech. Baumknltus 13 f.
• F. Weege, Etrusk. ßalerei Pl. 64.
• J. de Wit, Archaeol. Jahrb. 19ß9, 74.

zn can be found. The extent to which this result is of fundamental importance remains difficult to answer. Norden ' had denied any relationship between the Virgilian depiction and the Etruscan concept of the underworld. His view is not shaken by our result. From the outset, one must expect from the fresco of the Tomba dell'0rco, on which one encounters the Greek conceptions of the underworld everywhere, that it is something Greek, as in other cases. This is confirmed by the fact that the representation of the tree with the souls enables us to solve not only the particular Rergilian question, but also the general problem that concerns us here. If we previously raised the question of what the hanging of the *oscilla* on trees m e a n t , an answer now s u g g e s t s itself. The 3lasks, we saw, were the images of Dionysus, the lord of souls, and his entourage. The fact that they were hung up where the souls were thought to dwell is a dentiing that hardly needs any further explanation.

But we must go one step further. We saw that the *oscilla* suspended from the trees were associated with certain rocking rites ; there is also talk of ioc/o/io of the *oseilla* themselves. In Virgil they are called moffio because they are moved to and fro, this time not by human hands but by the wind ; Servius, as previously mentioned, therefore speaks of a *purgalio per aerem.* It might be obvious to recognise in this swaying in the wind familiar ideas of the belief in souls, such as the storming of souls in the wind and the like. However, the fresco of the 'Fomba dell'0rco' cuts off such interpretations. We have already noted that the souls are swaying in the branches of the tree; they sit astride the branches or swing back and forth on them. However this activity may be interpreted, this much is clear: the swaying of the oscifTo corresponds to the swaying of the souls themselves; both prove to be identical here again. Whether anch the

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' Aeneid Bnch VI - p. 816.

• **E. Resserschmidt, Stodi e materiali di storia** delle **religioni 5, 28 f.**

The channelling of the moors to the Aiora in this context does not need to be asked here.

One important question is still unanswered. On the basis of our previous train of thought, it might seem as if the masks were hung in 'fotenknlt' because Dio- nysos himself was depicted in this way. We must therefore raise the question of whether the connection of the òlasque with this very god or its connection with the divine or demonic powers of Hades is the original thing at all.

Here the fact that the Aiora was not nnr connected with the myth of Ikaros and Erigone becomes significant. We hear of a song that was sung at the festival called 'AJ zZs ; according to some, this was the older name of the festival itself." This song also referred to Erigone, but not to the daughter of Ikaros, but also to the daughter of the same name of the Tyrrhenian Maleos or Maleotes, and finally to the daughter o f Aigisthos rind of Clytaimestra, who also had the same name. The Etymol. Magn. s. v. ólijns (cf. anch Hesych. s. v. fi'źp"), which has received this message, also l i n k s the song to Medea, Int /'e'ó zòr

'f'óvov clv uaiòuiv sq'oq At/éa za-ś':f ¿cv àlyceúaaoa, or an

Persephone, *διότι τοὺς πυροὺς ἀλοῦντες πέμματα προσέφερον αὐτῇ.*

First of all, it is clear that we are back i n the same sphere as before: the mistress of the 'foes and Medea. For the old goddess of Argos ", whom Euripides first made the murderess of her children, fits perfectly into the imaginary circle,

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' It should only be n o t e d that **Polygnot depicted** the hanged Phaedra on a swing in his underworld painting in the reading room of the Knidians at Delphi. Pausanias, who narrates this (10, 29, 3), remarks thatu : nnp#tye áe ***zà* øJjpe xn*uso es zò eånp*učaz*pm' meaot§Nž-oe at'yQóJJsaRœt zà is zjs '{ircfl'ts zg> zrJ-"z#-. But at the same time, it does not seem impossible to me t h a t the same connection between hanging** and the **rocking rite could exist here t h a t we encountered in the Erigone legend. Or** w a s **the rocking Phaidra originally a suspended goddess in** the manner of Aspalis and łielena fsrápt -s?

• **M. P. Nilsson, Eranos 15, 190.**

• **Znletzt** C. **Robert, lieldensage 2, 18ìì f. ¡ U. r. Wilamowitz , Grieck Tragöd. 3, 171 f.**

which has occupied us so far. Without being able to go into them in more detail here, a few features should be emphasised. Their children had been placed in the sanctuary by the Corinthians. of Hera Akraia had been killed. The punishment is a plague, and by order of the Delphic oracle the offence is atoned for by the festival of *'A'pnio* and a cult of the dead, in which seven boys and seven girls of the noble sex must offer sacrifices to the murdered (Parmeniskos in Schol. Eurip. Song. 264). This is reminiscent of the Artemis 'Wony2o-Jörg and the children stoned to death by the inhabitants of Kaphyai. Paosanias' version (2, 3, 6 f.) ties the bond even tighter in that the children of Medeia meet the same death by stoning and the plague is said to have struck the descendants of the Corinthians. Moreover, he mentions a de'yn that was erected for atonement Zero xos is zo goQepN'rpor e'xii'r neao'§yZrp. Of course, it is not said that this shrine was erected. But perhaps one may surmise a 3(aske in it: It would be a perfect ana logon to the *oscilla.* Where this tradition differs from our earlier result, however, is the fact that we have again come across the world of the dead, but not Dionysus.

This is confirmed by other sources. Hesych s. v. N "éo" says that not only the song 'NZ¿"9, but the festival of hiu'pa in general was dedicated to the Tyrrhenian Erigone or the daughter of Aigisthos. In the first case, the associated legend no longer seems quite comprehensible to us.[1] However, it is worth noting that there is a connection to Italy here, which should not go unmentioned for the sake of Roman custom: the 'I'yrrhenian Maleos or Maleotes is said to have once lived in Regis villa near Caere (Strab. 5 p. 225). The daughter of Aigisthos and Clytaimestra is clearer. She is the real antithesis of the other Erigone, for she is said to have hanged herself after Orestes' acquittal by the Attic court. She is therefore an oopo9 and *fiacoPävaso;* at the same time, the reference to the hanging of the *oscilla* in her manner of death should not be overlooked, *just as in* the case of Icarus' daughter. The only difference is that here again there is no reference to Dionysus and his circle.

[1] Ygl. 0. Cousins, Philol. 48, 20ö r. ; M. P. Nilason, 1. c. 193.

It must therefore be clear that the appearance of 3f asks was not something specifically Dionysian, but could also be linked to other mythical ideas. Of course, the connection with the godfieites and beings of the underworld is recurring. We must then conclude, however, that the oeofasque and the god of the dead w e r e closely connected, and that it was only because Dionysus was the lord of souls that he was given this attribute. And this conclusion can be confirmed from another angle if we turn once again to the particular Italian circumstances.

If not only in the cult of Liber we encounter the *oscilla* here. Probus on Verg. Georg. 2, 385 f. speaks of the *rilus oscillorum freguens* in *Italia* and mentions the *[eriae semenli ac* ,- we content ourselves here with this reference and s a v e the discussion of this cen- tacle for a later section. Further, Festus p. 194 M. recognises the same custom are festivals of Juppiter Latiaris and brings it together with the end of Latinus, gtii *proelio,* good et {uit *ad "ersus* Mezentiunt *C!aerituni regem,* atisgtiont *apparuerit iudicatus- gve sit Juppiter Latiaris* (cf. Cic., Schol. Bobb. p. 256 Or.). The connection of this rite with that of the Aiora w a s already felt in antiquity, indeed, it was not only motivated by reasons similar to those of the Attic rite in Servius, Georg. 2, 389, but Festus describes the Italic custom almost as an imitation of the Greek one. M o r e o v e r , i t h a s long been recognised " that Latinus' rapture and worship as Juppiter Latiaris is analogous to that of Aeneas and his worship as Juppiter Indiges. Rapture and the reference to the chthonic Jnppiter " lead us again into the sphere of the cult of the dead.

The rite of *oscillatio* now becomes clear,
is something that belongs to the death cult in general, not only to the Dionysus, god of the dead '. Basically, we had to take this

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' The occurrence of the *O8Cilla* in Diapater's K.ulte cannot be dealt with here either; we refer to a study on the sacrifice of Argeer, which will appear in one of the next issues of Philologus.

• G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 124 note 4 .- p. n. p. 98 f.

• Brer. expos. ad Georg. 2, 389 even mentions the Italian custom of the *ozcitlatio* is derived from the death of Latinus.

Expect the result. For only then can our earlier observation[1] explain why the name of the mask is so often derived from that of the deities of the dead. We had seen that not only *persona* is derived from the name of the underworld god *ipersu,* but also that *mania*, *lar "a deivq'xcv* etc. were originally the names of ghostly beings close to the underworld and the realm of the dead.

&ooa Pereooa

We take our starting point from a monument of ancient Italian religion that has still received too little attention, the Oscan bronze tablet of .tgnone (Planta 200: Conway 175). Its interpretation in detail will occupy us in a later section - here we can only say i n advance that it names a number of deities who either belong closely to Ceres or a r e just an indigenisation of her. Moreover, it is particularly important to note that Greek elements h a v e already penetrated into the Knlt of Agnone ", so that the equation of the Italic Ceres (if she was originally an Italic goddess *) with Demeter, which in Rome t o o k place in the year 496, also seems to have been completed here. In sixth place on the tablet appears a deity to whom a statue and an altar in the stone of Ceres are erected under the name Ammat *kerriiai* (Dat. Sing.). öfit Hmmm
The following has already been compared earlier: ' Ay "i-9 j zpogo9 'Apzeytdo9 zer j pjc§p xci iy'*Pea rac* j dm zyp.- In our case, the l)emeter is clearly meant, namely as the
"Nurse" or "mother". It appears here as an indigitation of the Ceres, as the addition *kerriia-* also proves. The fact that the nymphs are named immediately after her *(diumpais kerriiais),* the givers of earthly water for the fruit of the fields, is only in order: it corresponds to the

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' p. above p. 61f.

• K. Latte, Arch. f. Religionswias. 24, 249. ° p. and p. 108f.

* Büeheler, Umbrica 80; Leaic. Ital. IY. Others still in Lobeck, Aglaophamus 822 g. Nenestens P. $retschmer, Zeitachr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch. 57, 258.

The coexistence of the nymphs and Demeter in Greek religion.[1]

The goddesses who appear at the end of the enumeration as *pernai kerriiai* and *ammai lerriiai* (Dat. Sing.) are to be connected here. The "ftntter" or "nurse" is thus listed again, probably because it is more closely related to the *perno.* But then the similarity of both names with that of the Roman Anna Perenna can b e overlooked. It is also the case elsewhere that such slang names as Am "to and *Anna* appear side by side, for example in Etrnskian , where *Euro- (see below) and *&ntmo- (in the Gentilic *Ammaeus, A* "tmaus*, Amalius* and their variants -) or in Asia Minor, where "Ryu "Ayyp 'Nyy*n " and "Euro "Arn "Arrior ' correspond. Furthermore, not only does our omma-, 'A/'y'ip have the meaning of rpo'pos or p'jipp, but *Anna* has also rightly been assumed[5] to be the
"nurse" (thus probably also the "mother"). If one further considers that the name form Anna Perenna is by no means the only one in the Roman area, but that it is also g i v e n to us by Varro, Menipp. Menipp. 606 Büch. *Anna cc Peranna*, i.e. that here too a duality of t-deities existed side by side, one can hardly reject the conclusion that the double name grew out of two originally separate ones.- Thus there seems to be a complete identity between the Oscan deities **Amma* and **Perna* and the Roman Anna and Perenna or Peranna.

After Wissowa's treatment, W. F. Otto ' ernent dealt with Anna Perenna. Concerning her name in particular, he rejected the usual interpretation as the goddess of the year (cf. Macrob., sat. 1, 12, 6: of *annare perennaregue commode liceal)* and instead p o i n t e d out that it is a

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' Preller-Robert, Greek Rythol. 1, 721¡ 767.

• W. Schulte, ZGLEN 345.

• P. Kretschmer, Einltg i. d. Gesch. d. gr. Spr. i339 f. ; Zeitsehr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch. fi7, 251 f.¡ Kleinasiat. Forsch. 1, 316.

• P. Kretschmer, Einltg. 344.

* P. Kretsehmer, 1. c. 356 note 3 ; W. F. Otto in Thesanrns 2, 108 lines 13f.

• The case is similar s. B. with Aiuß Locutins (W. F. Otto, Rhein. Uns. 64, 4b9) and Mutnnus Tutnnns (GGiaR 62 f.).

' Vienna. Stud. 40, 325 f .- Cf. also B. Nogara, Not. scav. 1924, US.

a name formed in the human manner. For just as the first component, *Anna,* belongs to the Etruscan genius *Annius* and its derivatives, the second is of the same kind. It is the gentilic *Perennius, Perna,* Etruscan *perna,* which also recurs in the modern place name *Perignan.o*'.

It will be clear that the interpretation of the second name receives the most complete confirmation imaginable from our inscription. For here it is found in the Etruscan form *perna-,* which was used quite independently of the Samnite goddess." The relationship to *perennare* and the form *Pcranna* preserved in Varro, which presupposes this relationship in its lanting, must therefore be a transformation t h a t only took place on Roman soil, although possibly in relatively ancient times. But the first 'part of the name also f i t s into the framework of this explanation. It is certainly no coincidence that in Etrnskian *we* find neither **Amma* nor *Euro, but rather gentilicies derived from them. So if the two names of the gods formed the etyma after which a number of families were named[4] , then the goddesses themselves must have been worshipped by the Etruscans, they must have been of Etruscan origin.

Furthermore, our monument teaches us that Anna Perenna is nothing other than an indigitation of Ceres herself. This will be pursued further below with regard to her cult - here only this much, that our assertion is confirmed not only by the attribute £err1ia- appearing with both names, but also by the fact that onen- alone has already become clear to us beforehand as such an indigi- tation. But yet another conclusion can already be drawn here. The **Amma Perna* and the *Antun could only have split off as independent deities when Ceres was already identical with Demeter. For only then could the designation as *fint "io have found its way in.

' W. Schulse, ZGLEN 345 f. W. Schulte, ZGLEN 88.

• I cannot believe in a "goddess in front" who is said to have been a goddess of birth (Höfer in Roscher III 8, 1980).

• **As already surmised by ron** W. Schulze, **ZGLEN** 478.

This last result contradicts the view that sees in Anna Perenna a deity belonging to the oldest stage of the Roman religion.[1] However, if we examine the arguments more closely, it becomes apparent that we have not the slightest reason for such a view. For if in the Fasti Vaticani and Farnesiani as well as in the calendar of Antium the notation of the feast of .4nna Perenna on 15 March is given in the more recent additions, not within the oldest inventory, it could of course be that this day was not specially noted because of the coincidence with the Ides and only later times added it. But we can only make this assumption if another source proves that Anna Perenna actually belonged to the oldest circle of gods. However, now that the Latin character of her name is, we hope, no longer in question, there is no further reason that could oblige us to make such an assertion.

On the other hand, our view is not supported by

The Etruscan form of the name of the goddess, but also her ancient connection with the Flnsse Numicus - for here we are in the immediate neighbourhood of Ardea and thus also of the *'Po?coul cc of'* ***Tvppyvoi*** (Appian., bas. 1, 2), which supplied Rome with the Etruscan cult of Jutnrna and the Dioscuri." Thus we come to the conclusion that it was the Etruscans who transmitted the Anna Perenna to the Romans on the one hand and to the Samnites on the other. That at least Ceres, with whom * *Amma* and *their are associated, was known to the Etruscans since ancient times is shown by Caesius Bassin's

b. Arnob. 3, 40 ; Serv. Dan. in Verg., Aen. 2, 325. Anna Perenna is most likely to be thought of as a Campanian Etruscan because of her appearance8 in Agnone.

This view can be confirmed by other sources. I)n addition to Anna Perenna, a second epiclese of Demeter, Damia, came to the Oscans and the Romans at the same time through the Etruscans, who equated her with the native Bona Dea.

' O. Wissowa, RoKdR - 241 ; Geßammelte Abh. 167 f.

• W.F. Otto, Wiener Studien S4, 324. GGiaR 28 f.

It was therefore unanimously assumed that this goddess, as she was attested to have been worshipped in Taranto, had come to Rome directly from there. This was thought to be the time of the conquest of Taranto, the year 272." But the originators of this combination have already pointed out that the name given to the priestess of the goddess *(damiatri:s :* Paul. Fest., p. 68 M.) actually points to an earlier time." Furthermore, we have overlooked the fact that in Italy there is a second point where we can identify an ancient knit of the goddess: We mean the so-called. "3lnttergottheit" of Capua, which has often been identified with Damia, most recently by H. Koch'.

Clues as to how the goddess was to be named are provided by some inscriptions found within her district in Capna, in which a form of name reminiscent of Damia recurs:

1. Planta 147 ; Con way 103: dontu[... marked dowuse[... carved on the sides of a terracotta figurine. It is not clear whether this i s the name of the deity itself or the word derived from it, which is preserved more completely in the following inscription.

2. Planta 135; Conway 117: *damsennias.* In addition to the name of Damia herself, Bücheler has already compared the previously mentioned *damiatri:s,* the Roman priestess of Damia, with this name. Only on the Oscan side does the formation of the stem remain questionable, for, as the inscription cited above shows, there must have been a stem

**damos-* to Ornnde. So that for our *damsennia-* a

*domosiiiin- as the basic form, from which the traditional form could have arisen with the doubling of the nasal before -i- and the syncope of -o-.

It is clear that this designation of the priestess cannot be derived from the name of Damia without further ado. The relationship to the goddess has therefore not yet been established - wrongly, we believe. For

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' G. Gianelli, Gulti e miti della Magna Grecia 25¡ 28 f.

* G. Wisßowa, RuK.dB - 216 f. ; **II. Diels, Sibylline Bl.** 44 f.

• 11 Diele, 1. e. 45 note; cf. G. Wissowa, RuKdlt - 216 below.

• Böm. Mitt. 22, 361f.¡ (jampan. Dachterrak. 1. 18.

* Rhine. Nus. 33, 71f. Kl. Schr. 2, 306 f. ; Rhein. Mna. 43, 562 f.

° ß. Peter b. Solcher 1, 944; G. Wissowa, RuB.dR - 216 note 7.

Damia need not have been the only form of the name. If we consider that an ö§t'\zyp *Kqiaaia euiöapoq* inschrift- Iich (IG 7, 3213) is known to us, that the Ceres-Demeter was also connected with the plebs in Rome [1], that the name of Demeter[S] could be interpreted as öy'ioyJiyp (Etym. Magu. 265, 54 ; Etym. Gnd. 140, 141), it is not far-fetched to assume that fint "a *i s* the stem of döyoy, *öpyoq*. But then this doy'a could just as well be called *d "tio "*a (cf. Paul. Fest., p. 68 ff.: *damium* sacriJciuin . *dictum a conlrarietate,* good *minime esset* dayooior, id *est puhlicoin)* and indeed in a more recent (1st cent. A D) Spartan inscription we encounter the form do¿'o'a (IG V 1, 363), which can probably only have arisen from *dato 'a via **dafiohia*.[S] From there osk. *danto- *sinia-*| *damsennia- can be* understood without difficulty: It denotes
"the one belonging to the *da¿iow'a", i.e. the priestess of that *d "pon*o, which is also called üaJi/o.

We believe that this will confirm the identity of the Capuan mother goddess with Damia. The votive offerings found in the Capuan district and the depictions of the goddess herself confirm our conclusion: they show her with one or two children in her arms, thus as a birth deity, which Damia certainly w a s . In addition, **t h e r e** are terracotta votives of all kinds of limbs, which also i n d i c a t e s a kind of healing deity -: This is reminiscent of the Bona Dea and the pharmacy associated with her temple, of which we are once told (Macrob. 1, 12, 23f.)."

When did the cult come to Capua? In buildings Within the sacred precinct, we are mainly concerned with a podium

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' G. Vissowa, RttBdR ^ 300.

The correct explanation was given by P. Kretschmer, Wien. Stud. 24, 523 f.

• *Av(Unia* appears next to it in the same inscription. The preservation of the a shows that the goddess is not old in Sparta, but probably came over from Epidauros or Aigina, where she was worshipped together with Damia (f-terod. 5, 8ßf.), perhaps also from Troisen (Paus. 2, 38, 2).

* Incidentally, Büeheler believed, although not with certainty, to recognise the usual form of the name in the Yibia curse table (Planta 128; Gonway 130), so that this variant would also be preserved in Oampania (Rhein. Mus. 33, 71 f. Kl. Schrift. 2, 307). * ß . $och, 1. e. 367.

® For other information on Bona Dea as a deity, see G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 211' note 1.

The discovery of a similar complex, the age of which does not go beyond the beginning of the 3rd century, would therefore be roughly contemporaneous with the conquest of Taranto, from which the introduction of the damia in Rome has been dated. However, the archaeological reports indicate that a similar complex was already built in the place of the podium and the nearby sanctuary in the 3rd century.
existed in "archaic times". And, as the terracotta antefixes found here show, as early as the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 8th century - so the Damian cult here goes back to an old fieit, to the era when the Etrnskians were lords of Capna; they therefore founded the Kalt.

What follows from this for the Roman introduction of the Damia requires only a few words. Not only the age of the Capuan temple, but also its greater proximity and the otherwise well-known activity of the Etruscans as mediators of Greek goods make it much more likely that the **Romans** first received the Greek goddess from Capua, not directly from Taranto." But the Campanian Etruscans passed on the Damian cult not only to the Romans, but also to their Oscan successors. We have thus found a perfect analogue to the transmission of the Anna Perenna to Rome and the Samnites.

We come to the nature and cult of the goddess. In his above-mentioned essay, W. F. Otto has provided evidence that the Ovidian story (fast. 3, 662 f.), according to which Anna Perenna was an old 3lithe who fed the plebs gathered on the *Mons sacer* with home-baked bread, is part of the old version of what was said about the goddess. He believes that this story must be related to the feasts and festivities,

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' ß . Koch, 1. c. 365.

• **li. Koch, Campanian roof terracottas 1, 19** ; **A. Furtwängler, Ifeister-**works 263 f.

• I had not **completed my exposition when I came across J. Bayet's remarks (Les origin.** de **l'lierc. Rom. 284 f.). I am pleased** to **agree with him and** also consider **his view that the Damian cold did not come to Campania via Taranto, but via Poseidonia, to be worth considering.**

which are attested for the feast of Anna Perenna'. But this interpretation is by no means necessary. Rather, now that it has become clear that we are dealing here with an indigitation of Demeter-Ceres, it will surely be more obvious to think of her relationship to grain and in particular to the bread festival. It is therefore the goddess of plant food, or more correctly: it is the earth itself that gives food to the starving 6fenge.- Accordingly, Ceres is invoked in the Faliscan inscription (CIE 8079) nm the granting of *far, ntel* and /erfom. In addition, the fact that Anna Perenna lends her help to the plebs is certainly not without significance. For once again there is a relationship to Cere8. After all, her sanctuary, founded in 496, was one of the plebs in particular, just as the day of the Cerealia was celebrated by them with festive celebrations (Gell. 18, 2, 11 ; cf. Plant., den. 100).

The Ovidian story of the disappearance in the river Numicns leads to a different function; as the nyinphe of the *amnis perennis* she was given the name Anna Perenna (fast. 3, 647 f.). So much of it is certainly old that it is a "rapture". Aeneas is said to have been raptured in battle with the Etruscans under Mezentins on the river Nnmicus (Cato and Bassins Hemina in Servins Aen. 4, 620; 9, 742 ; Solin 2, 14). Here was the sanctuary of the Jnppite Indiges or Pater Indiges, with whom Aeneas was then virtually identified." This I ndiges was, among other things, a chthonic god. This is shown by the appearance of his cult site: West di ywy'Jrior ob /iJyn xci zept *als'o öévöqa* ncoi2§dor aegvxtizn 4Jas ö§ia says Dion. Hal. 1, 64, 5. It was therefore a tomb, as Dionysiog considers it to be that of the vanished Aeneas and calls it a heroon; its appearance may be modelled on the so-called tombs of the Horatii. The appearance of the tomb can be seen in the so-called tombs of the Horatii and Cnriatii on the Appian Way. Next to the tomb was a

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' 1. c. 37: 'The plebs of the legend sitting on the *MO'H8 8O£er* apparently correspond in reality to the crowd celebrating the festival on the Tibernfer."

Otherwise, too, deities of the earth or the underworld appear as old women. The ^e---- will be the closest, but we should also remember the erring Demeter: ffymn. in Dem. 94 ; Paus. 1, 39, 1 ; Agatharchideß in Geogr. Graeci min. 1, 116 ¡ L. Curtius, Die Wandmalerei Pompeiis 315 f.

Ygl. Wissowa, RE 9, 1333.

Inscription: aazpoy lcol jtNo'/or öp nozo¿'o0 *Novyiziov* pr*/in diZcti. The god was thus thought to be identical with the lord of the river ', whom Ovid (1. c. 647) *c a l l s corniger* according to the usual manner of representation. Anch Arnobius 1, 36 speaks of the *Indigites* 4if3, gtii in Juden *repunt et in al "eis Numici cum ranis el pisculis degunt.* So if Anna Perenna w a s raptured on Nnmicus, she went to the lord of the dead; Silins italicus calls her ncIt" *slagnis* £ouren- *W'vs Anna* (8, 2b), later the *Ind39 etis castis contermina* price (1. c. 39). In other words, she belongs to the deities of the dead and the underworld.

This can be pursued even further. For the annual festival of Anna Perenna, which was celebrated with food, drink and other public and private refreshments near the Tiber, was no different. W. F. Otto has

— as we believe: rightly - expressed the view that it w a s a funeral celebration with the usual feasts, similar to the Caristia of 22 February. This results in a close relationship to the Ceres demeter, whose connection with the realm of the dead will become clear to us below. Ovid reports that there was much dancing and singing at this festival (535f.), and in particular that the girls did not h e s i t a t e to perform decent songs (675 f.).- One could initially think of the nin2poioyt*r xniö zö9 upö9 dilijior9 opilio9, which is attested to us on various occasions for the cult of Demeter. We will, however, postpone the discussion of these messages until later and for the time being content ourselves with the observation that we encounter the same phenomenon here at a funeral celebration that was already noticeable in the ancient occurrence of the atellans at the funeral games: the connection of the obscene with the death knell. Those obscene songs fit in perfectly with the character of the ancient Italian farce, whose obscenities are known to us from a whole series of references.

Generally speaking .yon the oéscaeao [*obscura* codd.], g "ae

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' R. H. Hausen, Aeneas and the Penates 2, 903 above.

• Dasu F. Marx, Bhein. Ntis. 78, 406 f. I will deal with the legend of Mars, Cinema and Anna Perenna, which Ovid tells on the occasion of the festival brane, in the article "Xinerra" in RE. -3farx, RE 8t 1918.

Atellani e more caplant Qnintilian 6, *3, 41*. The fragments, such as Pomponin's fr. 67 Ribb. or fr. 148-149 to your *Prostibulum* by the same poet, Novius fr. 81-82 and others, provide samples in detail. Some obscene allusions directed against the rulers have come down to us from Sneton from the imperial period: Tib. 45 com. inc. fr. 333 Ribb. or Domit. 10, 4 occidii ei *Hel idivm* Jlium , goasi *scaenico* ezodio ' *sub persona Paridis et* Oeaoaes diroriiunt *svum cum more* ***lazassel.*** That may suffice here. What the obscene originally h a d to do with the death knell and the funeral play is not yet a question; we hope to return to it later. In any case, we have a parallel to the *obscaena canlare* of the girls, a parallel that is all the more significant as the Etruscan origin can be recognised not only in the Atellane, but also in the name of Anna Perenna.

But what is even more evident here is a mutual relationship. show the relationship. The name of the chthonic demon that we encountered in the Etrnskian mortuary game and in the name of the Atellan mask, that of *gersu,* must be related to that of Perenna or *pertia.* The comparison of the first name with those of the Greek and pre-Greek myths could not lead us beyond a tribe **pers-|'yers-*." Now we hope to show that a root element **per-|'per- is present* here, which on the one hand is represented by the well-known Etruscan formans
-Mio [s] (== *perna)*, the second time extended by the no less familiar -u and a preceding *-s- (' :fersu).*

The alternation of the -so and -u formants does not present the slightest difficulty from the standpoint of Etrnskian, on the contrary: it may almost be regarded as a normal case.* Rarer, on the other hand, is the -s formant that appears next to it and immediately follows the root. Nevertheless, t h e r e do seem to be some analogies.

' **on** the designation of the Atellane **as 'codiiim see Clara,** 1. **c. 1917.**

• Cf. arch. r. Religionswiss. 27, 4Sf.

• **Which** as such, of course, **has** a masculine meaning. The feminine must have been **pernai, *pcrnei.* But also lat. troretyina goes back to **eia etntek. *gersipnai,* persiynci zariiclt (see above 3. 16).**

• W. Sehulze, ZGLEN 319.

W. Schutze[1] has already d r a w n attention to a number of cases:

her-, plus *her-na, her-mnei* nnd *Her-s-ennius;*
ar-, plus *ar-mne, Ar-na, Ar-mus and Ar-s-inius; car-*,
plus *car-na* nnd *car-s-na.*

Other things can be added to this:

of-, plus *Al-ina, Al-inna, al-mal* end *ceI-*,
cele-, plus ceI-two nnd *ccl-s-ina; cur-*,
plus *cur-na* and *cur-s-nt* * ,
lary-, plus *tarz-na, lary-nia* and *larc-s-ner *;*
ceIy-, plus *"ely-na* and *"elc-z-na, oely-s-na, "ety-z-na *; ver-*,
plus *der-na* and *der-s-nt;*
ref-, plus *set-na* and *eet-s-tiei.*[5]

As you can see, the coexistence of *per-na* and **per-s-u , 'yer-s-u* can be understood very well from here, and accordingly W. Schutze had already claimed that *Persius* and *perna* belong together - in other words: The Etrnskian death demon *'persu* and the earth and death goddess Anna Perenna bear names that are formed from the same root - they therefore belong together both in their meaning and in their naming.

That this linguistic result is not a coincidence, but has a more far-reaching meaning, can be seen from the fact that the root **per-* was also used to form the names of cßthonic deities.

Admittedly, this root appears there in a somewhat different phonetic form. In addition to the frequent aspiration of the labial in Etruscan, which occurs in a number of other cases apart from *qersu* ', a second change is the transformation of *p* to spirans and further to L".

' ZGLEN 174 ; other 260 note 2.

• *Oor-reine* and Vor-ainiur also show the coexistence of a simple root and a root extended with -r-: W. Schulze, ZGLEN 156.

• W. 8chulse, ZGLEN 96. * W. Schulte, ZGLEN 99.

• W. Schulte, ZGLEN 101.

• ZGLEN 260 note 2. An Etruscan s-suffix is assumed b y A. Trombetti, La lingna etrusca 57 f., as I have subsequently seen.

* G. Devoto, Stndi Etrnschi 1, 284 f.¡ E. Fiesel, Namen des grieeb. Mythos im Etrusk. 43.

• Verg1. A. Nehring, Indogerman. Jahrb. 13, 409 ; cf. 405.

While the first is relatively rare in Etruscan gentilicies, the second is limited exclusively to indigenous formations. To illustrate this, we h a v e selected a few examples taken from W. Schnlze's collections:

Pescennius, Pescinnius, next to *Fescenna:* ZGLEN 80. *Poenius,* next to *Foenius, Hoeriius a.* A. m.: ZGLEN 89 f. *Porsenna,* in addition *gvrsePna,* but *Eursius, F''ursidius:* ZOLEN 91.
Foesvlanus, next to *puts-na, puts-c-nal:* ZGLEN 168.
Eaesonius, Fesuienus, next to *'f'esu, hesual:* **ZGLEN** 190.
Pul[enniiis next to *Ful{ennius, Pul[enius* next to *Eul{enius;* further' *Pvlpidius, Pulfldius, Eulfiidius,- pulpae, pulpainei, Pulpatius* next to *pul{na, Pul[ennia,* Not/?os: ZGLFN 216.
popufoniom, *pupluna, pufluna, fufluna* in addition the god *[ufluns:* ZGLEN ii89 add. 216.

These examples may suffice here. They show that it is questionable from a linguistic point of view if we now add the name of another goddess, *Feronia,* to that of *Perenna-Perna.* For if we *h a v e* a Gentiliz *Ferennius* next to her ", the connection with *Perennivs* is quite obvious. we also have a *Fervsius,* which corresponds exactly to the *Pervsia* and *Perusilla* * belonging to *'yersu.*

Just as in the name, there is a connection in the \Vesen of the two goddesses. For the fact that Feronia also belongs to the earth is clear from the fact that she is described as a nymph (Sem. ad Verg. Aen. 8, ü64: Feroiiio *mater nympha €!ampaniae)* ,- accordingly, the college of the *Feronienses aguatores* in Aquileia (CIL 5, 8307 f.) has been compared with the urban Roman honouring of the nymph Juturna by the craftsmen, giii *artifisium aqua e:Percent* (Serv. Dan. ad Verg. den. 12, 139) .- If in the fins the goddess i s explained as deo *agrorum a* iii*[erorum* (Gl. lat. ii, 456, 23 ; 500, 47) or even only as deo *agrorvm* (4, 238, 25; 342, 18 ; ii, 599, 27), we do not see why this "bears the stamp of arbitrary invention".

' E. Fiesel, 1. c. 119 n. 171.
W. Schulte, ZGLEN 165. - rev. **f. Religionswiss. 27, 37.**
C-. **Wis8oWa, RE 6, 2219. Feronia also appears as a source deity in her sanctuary at Tarraeina-Anxur (liorat., sat. 1, 6, 24** f.) ; **for the remains of her 'Hempel there, see J. Lngli , Circeii (Forma Italiae, Regio** I mol. 1 8) *b9 t.*

should carry on herself.' For the goddess of the flnren fits in perfectly with the nymph Feronia; we also hear that the firstfruits were offered to her (Lin. 26, 11, 9). were offered to her (Lin. 26, 11, 9). Furthermore, the news belongs here that in the temple of the goddess at Tarracina the freed slaves received the will and that there was an armchair with an inscription on it *(bene trieriti seroi sedeant, surgant liberi)* (Servins Dan. in Verg. Aen. 8, 564). For it is characteristic of the deity of the earth and agriculture that on their festivals they grant the enjoyment of freedom precisely to slaves. We remember the Satnrnalia and the Laren festival of the Compi talians, which w a s a festival of the unfree servants." Anch that it is precisely the freed women who, in Lin. 22, 1, 18, and that the only urban Roman dedicatory inscription to the goddess (CIL 6, 147) comes from an oticiffn, points to such a connection.

is supposed to be, it corresponds to the fact that Dion. Hal. 3, 32, 1 renders her name as 'Pepwe'p'iry. We shall see later that the goddesses of the earth do not usually confine themselves to a single function such as the promotion of growth and fertility, but that in addition there is almost always a connection with the realm of the dead. That Feronia d o e s indeed belong there is shown by her son **Hermes* or, as he is called in our tradition: *Erulus (Erylvs).* Of him, whose affinity with his mother W. Schnlze has also proved from t h e linguistic side °, it is said in Yergil Aen. 8, 564:

' G. Wissowa, RE 6, 2219. *The* equation or **connection of** Feronia with Juno (G. Wissowa, RukdR - 286 note 5) would in any case not contradict the chthonic character. For Juno also belongs to the same realm (W. F. Otto, Philol., N. P. 18, 221 f.).

′ G. Wissowa, Bukdlt ° 285 f. ; Büeheler, Rhein. Jtfus. 41, 1 f. I believe I have shown in Glotta 19, 27 f. that a senarch such as **this need not** date from **the** time **of the** Gracchi, **but** that we must reckon with a much earlier occurrence of the Versmaßea than is generally assumed. I shall discuss the process of manumission in more detail elsewhere; for the time being, see K. Latte, heilig. Law 106 f.

• G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 168 ; examples from the Greek cult are mentioned. P. Nilsson, Eranos 1ii, 183 f. Another case belonging here is the Larentalia, see W. F. Otto, Wien. Stud. 35, 66.

• G. Wissowa, RukdR - 286 .- ZGLEN 165 f.

nascenii cci *tris animas Feronia water (horrendum diclu) dederat-terna arma nio "enda, ler Veto slernendus erat.*

If it is recognised that there is a piece of local tradition in this[1] , then we have a perfect analogue to a figure such as Geryonens (cf. anch Servius, Aen. 8, 564), whose affiliation to Hades is probably no longer subject to any doubt today -; in the Etrnskian art (Tomba dell'0rco) he appears as *cerun* together with the other figures of the underworld.

A second argument can be made. Servins Aen. 11, 78ii connects the emergence of the priesthood of the *liirpi lsorani* with a sacrifice to Dis pater (who was also called *Soranus paler*) on Soracte, sacred to the Manes. This fits in perfectly with the fact that, as we saw earlier, the Etrnskian god of the underworld appears in the form of a wolf and wears a woolly cap.- But no less remarkable is the testimony of Strabon (5, p. 226), who calls the *hirpi Sorani* servants of Feronia. Plan has described this as an error, although the fact that the goddess's place of worship was at the foot of the mountain (*no -J £opäz "p opt) should already give cause for concern. There can be no doubt that Feronia here is the wife of the wolf-shaped god of the dead, who is described as *'persipnei'* on the fresco in Corneto; we have already seen that she was identified with Persephone. Then we can no longer doubt that the *hirpi* could be connected not only with Dispater, but also with the goddess. At the same time, this gives rise to a new factual relationship between Feronia and the *'persu :* he, too, was associated with the 3Volfe, the animal of the god of the dead and at the same time its original form of appearance, in the clay.

This, it seems, has confirmed that the root

' Wissowa, RE 6, 2217.

U. v. Wilamowitz, Eurip. Ilerakl. I° 45 Anm.; 75. G. Robert, Hermes 19, 483 ; Archäol. nehmen. 275 ; Ileldensage 8, 465f. ; P. Friedländer, Herakl. 134 f.; B. Schweitser, Ilerakl. 87 f.

• DIE Suppl. 1 406 ; F. Weege, Mal. d. Etrnsk. Tat. 61 ; &onum. dell Inst. 9, tav. 15. Another account in E. Douglas van Bnren, Fignra tire terra-cotta revetments in Etruria and Latinm pl. $YIH flg. 1.

• See above p. ö9.

* P. Dueati, Rendieonti dei Lincei 24, ii4p.

per-* served to designate ehthonic deities. And yet a misgiving must be raised. For if it is correct that the word h a d this function, it could only have been because it was suitable for the sake of its meaning. They must therefore have been "speaking" names that expressed the individual nature of the deities in question, or at least a certain side of their nature.[1] This is contradicted by the fact that Feronia is not, as in the case of *'fersu nm, an individual name coined for it from the outset, but a gentiliz ; it received its name from the *gens* whose special deity it was." Thus, the reason for the naming of Feronia would not l i e in the appellative meaning of the root **per-*, but in the obvious fact - from a linguistic and historical point of view - that the goddess was worshipped by the *gens* of the same name. And the same seems to apply t o Perenna, as has been noted. She is said to have been a gentile deity and to have received her name from the *yens Perenna* or *Perna.*

The objection regarding Feronia must be recognised as justified. Nevertheless, its weight should not be overestimated. W. Schulze has shown that the *gens Feronia* itself received its name from the hero **[ere, *here* or **[erte, *herle,* who appears in Virgil as Ernlns and son of the goddess; apparently the gender derived from him as its divine ancestor. *Srulus*, however, is not a gentilic but an individual name. 1) Therefore we are entitled to look for the old appellative meaning in the name of Feronia, even if not in its own.

Thus, even if the Feronia must be discarded as a mere testimony, the 'fact remains that the root
**The name 'per-* and the names derived from it, *'persu* and *Brutus* in particular, denoted chthonic deities. But still

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' For the definition, see P. Kretschmer, Glotta 7, 8S1; 8, 124.

• Comparable would be the names of the gods code and *tluscv ,-* compare E. Fiesel, D. grammat. Gender in Etrnsk. 24f. ° W. Schulse. ZGLEN 165.

• W.F. Otto, Wiener Stud. 34, 326. ^ ZGLEN 165.

the goddess Perenna remains to be categorised. Of course, it is possible to understand her, like Feronia, as a gentile deity - the only question is whether we should understand her as such. A path seems to open up that allows a direct connection with the root **per-* and the names of the gods derived from it.

If we consider how often within the Italic languages the feminine is formed by adjectival 3lotion, the question must be raised as to whether **Perna is* not used alongside **(ese, *here* could be understood in the same way. Especially with Roman names of gods we encounter the suffix -so or -poor, for which it suffices to recall the names of Jnturna and Diana, which have been interpreted on other occasions. In our case, we would then have to recognise a Latin-Etruscan ophthalmic formation, which in itself would be quite possible, but the name of the goddess could also be explained in a similar way specifically from the Etruscan.

The feminine *perenna-perna* in Etrnskian, if we use the equation Etruscan. *'f'ersipnai,* etrusk.-lat. *Prosepnai Proserpina* ^ *must* have been **pernai*. Then Etrusc. **pere* - the form from which the development to **{ese,* **(H)erulus* and **peraoi* correspond to the usual juxtaposition of masculine and feminine, as we encounter in numerous examples within the Etruscan gentilicies. However, **perttai* need by no means b e such a gentilic, all the less so as this can be ruled out with its masculine correlate. In fact, it h a s long been recognised that the feminine suffixes and thus also our feminine a-extensions, as they appear in the gentilicies, are nothing other than adjectival extensions of the nouns.- Accordingly, here too we are dealing with an adjectival, "spurious" oetio- tion, and this need by no means be restricted to the gentilicies. In fact, it occurs

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' **Whether the Tferer *Martia*** or **the** 2ferie **Junonia also b e l o n g here cannot be discussed** ¡ in **itself there is certainly the possibility of a connection from a linguistic point of view**.- **GGiaR 13.**

- **GOiaR 97 f.** **- See** the **examples cited in** GGiaR **11.**
- **Dasu 0. Devoto, Studi etruschi 2, 316.**
- **G. lierbig, Indog. Forsch. 37, 183 f.** ; **Philol. 74. 4ö0.**

' in appellatives in a similar form, and then there is probably no difficulty in adopting it for an individual name as in our case **pere-pernai.*

One last point remains to be discussed. We have previously described Anna Perenna as an indigitation of Demeter. In doing so, we were able to refer to the first part of the goddess's name, in which the connection with the Greek goddess is clearly emphasised. It is now important that the second name just discussed, **Perrin-Perenna,* p o i n t s in the same direction. If it is true that, as we have explained e l s e w h e r e , the name of the Etruscan *if'ersu* belongs on the one hand to that of the Zftp "s'p'ir§, the 2Tfp"§s and the entire pre-Greek name clan derived from a tribe Zfep"-/'Pep"-, but if at the same time it cannot b e separated from that of **Perna*, then there must also be a linguistic connection between their name and that pre-Greek clan. Or to put it another way: If the root of the name *'persu* was formed by the Etruscan root **per-* with an s-suffix, then the corresponding pre-Greek root Cep"-/'Ptp"- must also b e understood as a root *2Tep-/*&tp- with an s-suffix.

We have already emphasised on another occasion ",
that the gods' names formed by means of the tribe 7rtpn-/&epn- exclusively designate those deities that have to do in some way with the chthonic, i.e. with the earth or the underworld. It is now significant that we find a number of gods' names formed by an equally pre-Greek tribe Yep-, which belong to the same sphere. Stan thinks of 'Pcpoco, the mother of Hecate, who is a daughter of Aiolos and as such is also called 'Prp'i (Steph. Byz. s. v. 'f'sps/). The juxtaposition of the two names seems to correspond to the familiar Snffix relationship that we also find elsewhere in pre-Greek names: 'd@r"-'ü#prn'o, *"Hqa-'Hqaia, "Aif'a-Ugala.* - Next to it is the Hecate-Brimo

' To cite a case where we can recognise this fact: etroßk. fartiii-#a Penn. iiberta, ;famifiari8" opposite tnuttii Task. shows the same formans as it appears *in*

Pollitta next to *pure,* Golfitto next to come, ccli. Most recently E. Fiesel, Das gramm. Geschlecht in Etrusk. 111f.

• Arch. für Religionsw. 27, 45f. ° 1. c. 46.

• ¥g1. II. r. Wilamowits, Pindaros 575.

the epithet &spec't, initially after their knltorte &rpaf, but this itself is named after the &ep'i. [i] We also encounter an Aiolide #ep "yor or &cpjywr, and another scion of this family, 4Jpp9, is the father of Admetus, in whom the god of the dead cannot be recognised ' ; but also the eponymous 4?py9, the son of Jason and Medea, belongs to the underworld "according to his abbreviation". In the same way, Hermes
'Pepn'o9 perhaps rightly interpreted as 2#or'os.*

It therefore seems quite probable to us that, just as the Etrnskian stems **per-* and **per-s-* in **Perna* and *i:fersu* belong together, the same is the case with the corresponding pre-Greek stems 'Pep- and Grp-'.
I)hen Demeter was called **Perna* in Etruscan, she was thus named by means of the same stem that was used in the pre-Greek world as the name of chthonic deities, some of whom were related to her.

Ceres and TeHus

We had already encountered the goddess Ceres as a member of the Triad, to whom a temple was dedicated in Rome in 496. Within this triad, she was equal to Demeter, just as Liber was equal to Dionysus and Libera was equal to Kora. According to the prevailing view today, this identification meant something retrospective: just as Liber's original nature was to be understood as a native god, Ceres was also believed to be an Italic mistress of plant growth. This must now be verified more seriously.

The name already seemed to provide a firm basis for the previous assumption. Even antiquity derived it from o *creando* (Sem. in Verg., Georg. 1, 7) or o *gerendis frugibvs* (Cic., de nat. deor. 2, 67 ; 3, 52 ; cf. Varro, de 1. 1. 5, 64). Their

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' **Cf.** P. Kretschmer, **Einltg. i.** d. **Oesch. d.** gr. Spr. 418 f. and our remark on 'A2cv#epei: N1r-P-p" above p. 26 f.

• L. halten, **Archaeol.** Jahrb. 1914, 189.

• U. r. Wilamowitz, Griech. **tragöd. 3,** 171 f.

* 0. Schneider, Gallim. 2, 384 f .- G. Wisaowa, Bu$dR - 192.

Hanptfest, the Cerealia of 19 April, was celebrated in spring, when the seeds sprouted; it is only natural that the goddess is therefore referred to as *mater agr(orum)* (CIL 11, 3196). She also appears at the festival of sowing, the /erioe *semenli "ae,* which belonged to the *concepti "ae* and fell in January: On her second day, Ceres received a sacrifice of spelt, just as her companion, the Tellns, to be discussed shortly, received the sacrifice of a pregnant sow on her first day. In the same way, Ceres received the offering of the porco *praecidanea* at the beginning of the harvest, to be discussed in detail, and the first cut of the ripe ears of corn, the *praemetium,* as a special offering (Paul. fest., p. 319 M.; cf. 235); on the other hand, anyone who tampered with the crop while it was still standing in the field forfeited his life to the goddess (Plin., n. h. 18, 12). The newer view, as represented above all by Wissowa, Denbner " and K. Latte ", was satisfied with this one action, at least for the original character of the goddess. The main reason for this approach must have been to distinguish the special nature of the Italic goddess from that of Demeter, and the fact that Ceres alone was a deity of growth seemed to guarantee the correctness of such a distinction. For Demeter (as we shall see) encompassed the two main spheres of the chthonic realm - the production of new growth in nature and the recovery of that which had died - in the same way, only one side of this realm was present in Ceres.

We do not yet want to raise the question of whether the scope of the functions attributed to Ceres is not too narrow. For even if we confine ourselves to considering the side mentioned so far, there are very remarkable and almost unparalleled similarities with what we know of Demeter, not only in the fact that she too is generally a goddess of the field, that we can name a number of festivals where she is related to sowing and harvesting, but also in the fact that she is a goddess of the field.

' **G. Viasova, RuKdR - 193.**

• **In Chantepie** de **la Saussaye S, 442.**

• **Areh. f. Religionswiss. 24, 248 f.**

• **Preller-Robert, Griech. Mythol. 1, 765 f.**

stands. Rather, we can cite some very specific moments in favour of our assertion.

Probus in a ' place we have already discussed earlier (ad Verg., Georg. 2, 38ö) speaks of the *rilus oscillorum iactationis* /regoeas in *Italia,* which was celebrated at the *(eriae semenli "ae.* He traces it back to the Attic ü "iipa, as we have already seen. What did this Greek rite have to do with the festival of a local deity? For there is nothing to suggest that Probus, in referring to the *[erioe semenliuae,* did not mean the Roman festival, but simply the üi'i'pe itself. Conversely, however (since the Roman festival was not only dedicated to Tellns, but also to Ceres), the existence of a Greek rite corresponding to Ai'iipa would fit in with an original identity of Ceres and Demeter, and all the more so since the mask appears in their cult on various occasions.

At the sanctuary of Demeter 'AJrv'nria in the Arcadian Pheneos there were two large stones, the so-called wJzpu'ye, placed one on top of the other. Inside it was the Mystery Prescription, and above it lay the mask of Demeter in a special attachment. of Demeter hdap/o. At the *pti§wv* ztltstj the priest put it on and beat the earth with sticks to awaken the subterraneans (Paus. 8, Ui, 1-3). That the name of the goddess is connected with the xfdapi9, the "pogtor, which the priests wore (Suid., Hesych. s. v.), has always been recognised.[4] Of course, it is not clear whether x'dapip in Pheneos referred to the mask itself and thus whether the Arcadian dance of the same name (.\then. 14, p. 631 d) was a mask dance, or whether the mask itself wore such a "zpö'p'o".[5] This much, however, is unmistakable, that

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' S. above p. 90. * G. Viasova, RuK.dR° 193 note 2.

• G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 193.

• Kern, RE 4, 2732 ; Relig. d. Griech. 1, 1ß3¡ iT. llaener, Strena lleIbi- giana 319 ; Adler, RE 11, 378.

* P. Marconi, Agrigento 174 lists a representation of Demeter in the mask, and compares it with (to my knowledge hitherto unpublished) representations of Demeter K.idaria from Lindos (a similar piece from Megara Hyblaea Von. Linc. 1, tav. II 15). There the goddess wears such an --e*r--r› ßthat we

we would then have to decide in favour of the second alternative. Cf. anch Netoliczka BE 11, 378 f. - Very remarkable is a 'fonmaske from the

Demeter, like Dionysus, depicted under the image of an if aske and was revered.

Two other messages can be added. In an inscription to Aigai[1] there is an account of six silver btasques worn by three girls of Demeter (who is called Domater here), Kore and the temple attendants.

honoured gods. And when it is said of the >-re*r of the lleiligtnmes of Ph1eiug at Sikyon that there are

6yd@ aT" AtO'00O xal Ö \TpO 9 't "i ßÖQ "S TÖ pÖ Yui n r§"(rOr'6

(Paris 2, 11, 3), it has been rightly surmised, as it seems to us, that they were also masks.[s]

Thus it already appears here that the Roman Ceres was originally none other than Demeter. This becomes even more obvious if we now consider an area of application of Ceres that previous research has endeavoured to push aside - her relationship to the dead. How little Wissowa's view is correct here, according to which this function is merely a subsequent assimilation to Demeter, has recently been emphasised with emphasis.- In fact, the evidence available to us is quite unambiguous and shows with complete clarity that this is an original characteristic of Ceres.

Let us first stay with the *feriae sementinae* and the rite of rocking the *osc3fin* that is associated with them. We have seen in an earlier section that this ritns, wherever it occurs, is connected with the Totenknlt. Anch in our case we must assume this, and all the more so as the representation of Demeter Kidaria in the mask referred to by nns is connected with the same idea. The priest wearing this mask strikes

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Necropolis of Samos, which resembles the aforementioned representation in all essentials *[3.* Boehlau, Aus jonischen und italischen Nekropolen, Taf. $III 7 ; p. **159). It is designed for hanging, i.e.** a regular oreillum. **It would appear that there is a direct connection here between the Demeter** A-finp/n **and the blanks attached to it.**

' R. **Böhn** - C. Sehnchhardt, Altert. v. **Aigai 48.**

• Item, RE 4, 2729.

'E. Stk, G1oN ü, 112

on the ground, cm to awaken the subterraneans'. So it would not be nnr Tellus (as we know otherwise) " here who was connected with the dead, but rather Ceres, to w h o m the *[eriae sementi "ae* were celebrated together.

Perhaps we can go one step further. When discussing the *oscilfo* we saw that they were images of Dionysus, the god of the dead, and his swarm. Correspondingly, in our case, we would have to claim that they were images of the Ceres demeter and the chthonic curse, whose mistress she is. We can no longer prove this rigorously, even if the Canosa vases " nns show the image of similar öfasken. But w e will come across Ceres-Demeter as the mistress of the dead, who in Athens are called dq¿'jzptioi after her, when we discuss the *Lanes C!ereales* on the Agnone inscription below.

A second point of departure is provided by the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea,* which was again addressed jointly to Ceres and Tellua. It was offered before the beginning of the harvest and was regarded as atonement for a possible violation of the *ius* tnoaitim *, thus seeming to show that the creative l "unction of Ceres was connected with her relationship to the dead. Wissowa has, of course, objected that in Cato (de agr. 134) only the relationship to the harvest is still present; since at the same time Ceres alone is invoked, it is clear that the petitionary sacrifice for the harvest w a s meant for her, but the sacrifice for the dead was meant for Tellns. However, we must bear in mind that Cato w a s primarily concerned with the practical interests of agriculture, and so it is not necessary to conclude from his statement that the sacrifice of atonement for any violation of the ins moniein h a d ceased to exist i n his time, or even that Ceres had been the harvest sacrifice from the beginning. On the contrary, Varro (in Non. p. 163 M.) says quite explicitly: good *humalus non sit, heredi porca praecidanea suscipienda 'T'elluri et C!ereri; aliler [amilia non pura est* - thus naming both deities side by side. Yes, Gellius (4, 6, 7) says that before the beginning of the harvest

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' E. Rohde, Psyche 1, 119, note 4. ° G. Wissowa, RuKdR ° 194.

• A. Vayer, Apulia 302 ; Arch. Ztg. 1857, 58 f. Perhaps the newly found piece from Larello with the depiction of a prothesis (E. Boeh- ringer, Arch. Anz. 1929, 133 f., flg. 35-36 ; cf. p. 135) also belongs here.

* Cr. Wissowa, RuKdR - 193¡ RbtL 5, 331 f.

the sacrifice was offered to Ceres alone, *si gvi (ant- liam funestam auf non purga "erant ant aliler eam rem, guam oporluerat, procura ervnl;* likewise anch Paul. Fest. p. 223 M. This shows unequivocally that we cannot separate Ceres from the 'I'otenknlt and that, if she alone is mentioned by Cato as the recipient of the sacrifice, she stands for both deities together, as this must undoubtedly also apply to the testimony of Gellius and Paul.

We do not want to raise the question here as to whether, if Ceres can represent Tellng at the same time, a far-reaching identity of the two deities should not be assumed; we will have to deal with this question below. Before that, another tradition must be discussed which also testifies to Ceres' connection with the dead. We mean the fact that the *mundus,* the place of sacrifice for the *di* ia{eri and the place of the "connection between the upper world and the underworld" ', can be named after Ceres *(mundus C!ererís:*Fest. p. 142 II.). In contrast todoubts that have also been raised here, it should be remembered that the existence of a *sacerdos Oerialis mvndalis* (CIL 10, 3926) would suffice to disprove .- In addition,we must refer to another Roman divinity in this context, the Pan da Cela.

In the Agnone inscription, within a circle we encounter son deities close to Ceres, the name *palanai piistiai* (Dat. Sing.). It has long been recognised that its first component is connected with the Roman panda, the patella or patellana, the Umbrian padella." This brings us once again into the immediate vicinity of Ceres. For

' €'. **Wissowa, RuK.dR - 234** ; P. Dueati, **Etruria antica 1, 198.**

° **[Other still in St. Weinstock, Rönn. litt. 45, 114 f. ¡ 128. $orr. N.]**

• Th. Mommsen, Ilnterital. Dial. **135** ¡ F. Bücheler, Lea. Ital. BX ¡ **Umbrica 183** ; R. **Planta, Gramm. d. osk.-umbr.** Dial. **1,** 248¡ **265** f. ¡ **3941.** ¡ **2, 30; 260;**

F. Muller, **Altital. Wörterb. 323** - **The epithet is remarkable. Beer is** generally, **in spite of** linguistic difficulties to the contrary, **linked to the Greek** iaz-os ; **cf. lt. Planta, 1.** c. **1, 103; 169** ; 2, 9¡ 208.

C. D. Buck, 0sc.-Umbr. **Grammar 20, Anders Bücheler, Lexie. Ital. 8X** -, **but** compare R. Planta, 1. c. **1, b37. We** confine **ourselves** to the **suggestion of a second possibility, namely, to connect the epithet of the goddess with that of** Ventile Pistius **which has been preserved to us. Then we** would have a gentile **deity** of *profit* **in Panda Piatia. Her name** belongs together **with *Pico,* which the Romans often rendered as** I longa **and the Greeks as** Dri "mv **(W. Sehulze, ZGLEN 210). This would explain the localisation of the osci word.**

Religious experiments n. Preliminary work BVH, 3.

For the Patellana this is suggested by the testimony of Varro (Augustus, De civ. Dei 4, 8: *@rae[ecervnt ergo] ... cum folliculi palescvnl, vi* spico *ereal, deam* Poteflotiom) ; he nnd .telins Stilo (Non. p. 44 3f.) then declared the Panda to be virtually identical with Ceres. So it will b e - this is clear at first - nm an old indigitation of this goddess.

This is confirmed when we c o n s i d e r a particular aspect. The name of the panda d o e s not need t o be interpreted actively as the "opener" *[ea* guae *pandil),* but could also be translated medially with the same right as the "opener" (en gern *pandilur).* As a deity who opens herself, however, she is an image of the *mundus* whose opening *(patere) is* noted on certain days in the calendar (Fest. p. 142 ; 1ö4 M.; 3lacrob., sat. 1, 16, 17 f.). But this can be taken even further. The opening of the *mvndus* means a connection of the underworld and its secrets with the upper world and the day. It is nm a revelation of what **i s** otherwise hidden, or nm to put it in the words of Festus (p. 1ö7 M.): *gvos dies eliam religiosos iudica ervnl ea de causa,* good *quo tempore ea, guae* occuffae ei *abdilae religionis deorvm* Benimm *essent, eluli in lvcem* guaada i *adducerentur e! pate)erent, nihil co le ipore in republica gem voluerunt.*° Thus it is obvious to accept Bücheler's conjecture on Varro, Men. fr. ö06 B, according to which Pan da would have possessed the second name of Cela:

te Euro mc Perootio, Kondo dere, *le (te Palo :* codd.) Poles.

The goddess Panda Cela would then be a true image of the *mvndv,* who only reveals his secrets on certain days, but otherwise keeps them hidden from the light and the eyes of humans, "concealing" them (celot).

But the Panda Cela is not only an image of the *mvndus,* but, like the *mvndus* itself, an image of the earth in general. Wissowa was the first to say that our goddess, like the Genita Mana, must represent an indigitation of the Tellns. In both names their dual nature is expressed

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' G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 195 1nm. 2.

• It is significant that Yergil uses the same expression where he sets out to reveal the secrets of Hades:

Kif ciiM /o8 Oiidita Vogwi, sit niim*ne *e8tro*
P an d c r e re8 Olta terra et taligine mersa8 (Aen. 6, 266 f.).

as the all-bearer and the reaper o f all that has died'. The same idea also recurs in Greek. In a fragment of Enripides, to c i t e just one example, it says:

(fr. 839 N." ; Naehbi)dnngen in Pacuv., trag. fr. 87 Ribb.; Lucr. **2, 991 f.;** cf. also Vitruv. 8 praef. 1). But the notion of the opening and closing of the earth is also found in t h e Greek, for which reference is generally made to the
L. Malten - should be referred to. Only one special case should be mentioned, because it can be placed alongside the *mundus* as communication between the upper and underworld. In numerous places in Greece, especially in Arcadia and the Argolis, there was an entrance to the underworld, which was often linked to the knlt of Demeter and the legend of the dove of Kore. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter (v. 16 f.), when the god of the underworld appears, it says:

16. χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρυάγυια

- these two verses seem to recur to the same idea that is common to the cult of *mundus* and that of Pan da Cela: on the one hand, the opening of the earth, on the other, the name of the 3fi "or nsd(or - for this is how Yalten's * suggestion should be written - i.e. the "Earth that closes behind the robber".

We could now seriously raise the question of whether not, when Panda Cela as an indigitation of both Ceres and the

' RAL 5, 331. " Areh. f. Religionswiss. 12, 894 f. ; cf. also U. r. Wila-mowits, Griech. Tragödien 2, p23 .- L.halten, 1. c. 285 f. ¡ esp. 300 f. - 1. c. 302.

• [On a connection anch dCs *tzt4tndH8* with the Ranb der Kore dergl. St. Weinstock, 1. c. 114 note 1. Corr. Not.]

'Pellns must be addressed, a far-reaching lden- tity of both deities can be expected. Let us again defer the answer and first pursue our previous question. It will be clear by now that the Roman and Greek conceptions of the earth goddess correspond to each other in the polarity of opening and closing, of giving life to all living things and recovering the dead. Just as it belongs to the nature of Ceres, so it also belongs to that of db-y ryp, the "Mother Earth", that she brings forth all life and, when her time is over, takes it back to herself.[1] On the way via the *mundus* and the Pan da Cela we are thus led once again to the conclusion that Ceres can be none other than the goddess who was worshipped in Greece in the most ancient times.

We can draw attention to another special point. On the Greek side, the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea can be compared to* something similar within the cult of the dead - in the cult of Demeter, the pig sacrifice is encountered in a number of cases. Particularly noteworthy is the cult of Potniai (Paus. 9, 8, 1): Pigs were thrown down into the so-called yZyapa to Demeter and Kore, who were called Zforrioi here; it was believed that they would return to Dodona to shine again. We know of a similar custom on the penultimate day of the Thesmophoria, where live piglets were sunk into a pit to perish and decompose." The correspondence between the two rites is all the more valuable for us nm, as the renewed analogy to the *mundvs* is not recognised in the subterranean /iJyapn (they were also called this in Athens).

In this context it is of particular importance that the pig sacrifice to Ceres can be traced back to the very earliest times of Rome. We know of a second such sacrifice, which this time was offered in the presence of the corpse - the *porca praesentanea* (Fest. p. 250 3f. ; cf.

' W. F. Otto, Die Götter Griechenlands 33; E. Rohde, Psyche 1, 191; 0. $ern, D. Relig. d. Grieeh. 1, 35f.

• E. Rohde, 1. c. 242 note ; 0. Kern, 1. c. 1, 159.

• **E. Rohde, &eine** Schrift. **2, 3öb** f.; 0. $ern, **A.then. bfitt. lS,** 16¡ **L. ätalten,** Arch. **f. Religionswiss. IS,** 440¡ snletst E. Gjerstad, Areh. **f. Religion8wiss.** S7, SS0 f.; 0. **$ern,** D. **griech.** 3tyst. **d. klass. Time S5.**

Star. Victor. GL 6, 25 K.). This news has recently received unexpected confirmation, it seems, from the burial of the Roman Fornois necropolis. The fact that that sacrifice would have belonged to Tellus or even to her alone, as has been suggested, is not at all proven. On the contrary: the fact that the custom w a s not only found in the younger occupying stratum of the necropolis, but already in the older cremation stratum, which belonged to the inhabitants of the Palatine alone, leads to the assumption that the Palatine city already knew a Knlt of Ceres. Accordingly, the *mouth* belonging to her was related to the foundation of the city (Ovid., fast. 4, 821 f. ; Plnt., Rom. 11). It was s i t u a t e d on the site of the later Komitinm -, i.e. still within the Brandnecropolis, which originally e x t e n d e d to the slopes of the Capitol.

In addition to the pig, Demeter was associated with a second ethereal animal. Thanks to Malten's well-known research, the equine form of Demeter and the ancient Greek earth deities in general has become clear.* It seems to us to be of the greatest importance that on the oldest written document that mentions Ceres - the one on the

In the 6th century Ceres vase from Falerii - the depiction of a horse is found (CIE 8079 and the accompanying illustrations) - two winged steeds can be recognised carved into t h e body of the vessel (albeit only fragmentarily preserved), of which at least the head and one wing each are still clear. One is reminded of the depictions of the winged rosses of the dead, or those of Medusa, which w a s also originally a form of the Greek earth goddess. Since she appears as a winged female creature with a horse's head, and in Phigalia Demeter was also depicted with a horse's head (Paris. 8, 42, 4), our depiction could perhaps also be supplemented in this sense. In any case, the

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' F. r. Dnhn, Ital. Gräberknnde 1, 423 [In addition, the addition of grains of wheat is found (F. v. Duhn, 1. c.); about this, see P. Wolters, Festschrift J. Loeb 111 f., esp. 123. Corr. Not.]- G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 194 ¡ RML fi, 63ö.

• St. Weinstock, 1. e. 118f. has probably finally disposed ofthe alleged Palatine motidu8. -F. v. Duhn, 1. c. 417.

• Arch. Jahrb. 1914, 181 f. - G. llerbig, Titnli Faler. metre. S2f.

° See e.g. L. hold, 1. *e.* 2E0 *t.,* fig. 22-23. - L . hold, 1. c. 183f.

Cereg in the Faliscan knlt of the 6th century is presented entirely in the manner of the Greek goddess.

Lastly, we must mention the god who stands next to Ceres as a male comrade, Cerus. He was

- This is the only thing that tradition directly gives us - *in* the song of the Salians as *duonus cerus* (Varro, de 1. 1. 7, 26) or as *cerus manus*, which was interpreted as *creator b0nvs* (Paul. Fest. p. 122 3f.). 31 The first thing to think of is an ancient pair of gods, similar to the pair Faunns and Fauna, Cacng and Caca, Liber and Libera, or, to mention the most obvious, similar to Tellus and her comrade 'fellomo (Augustin., De civ. *Dei 1,* 23).

F. Pfister ° has gone one step further, leading over to Demeter at the same time. He recalls that in öfegara the goddess is associated with a figure whose name is reminiscent of Cerns, the *Käq,* after whom the Bnrg hill of Ifegara was named; he is also said to have founded the Demeter sanctuary there (Pans. 1, 39, 5 ; 40, 6 ; Steph. Byz. p. 359). The fact that he appears as the son of the "first man" and the bringer of Fener, Phoron, is significant if one takes into account the close connection between Prometheus, who was closely related to him, and Demeter. This cannot be strictly rejected, but that on the other hand the connection with Cerns has something very meaningful and fits in perfectly with the context of our results will not become clear. can be denied. As Pfister has correctly seen, it is possible to like *C!eres, tems, creare, cresccere* to root **der-** "grow, nourish". We would have to recognise here a root noun formed by the low stage: **!g-s*) **A "p-p, which became tip when the initial n was dropped.[e] On the Italic side, the Oscian name for bread, *caria* ', can also be recognised.

' **The above had long since been written when E. Stoffe's remarks** appeared in **Glotta 18, 199** f. **I am** pleased to **agree**; **his assumptions about the relationship between** Demeter **and Ceres will, of course, no** longer be maintained in this **form**.

• **Reliquienkult im Altertum 1, 11 note 21.**

• **Eitrem, BE 10, 1294.** **- E. lfeyer, GdA 2, 59f.¡ Eitrem, 1.** c.

*** Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterb. 1, 408 f.**

• **Brogmann-Thumb,** Griech. Gramm.- § **143** e, **p. 172**.

' **YergI. F. Büeheler, Kl. Schrift. 2, 883.**

which one will not want to separate from Ceres. Anch here is the 'low stage of the root *(!g-ia),* whereby the syllabic liqnida, as also occasionally in Latin, has changed to *-ar-*'. The corresponding verb has long since been translated into osk. In- *renler , escunlur' has long been* recognised.

This sheds some light on the name of Ceres itself. Its difference from that of the Greek Demeter i s an ifoment that must not be overlooked. Ceres may be called *crealri:s* * or, as is more likely, the goddess of the

"We have so far only been able to explain this formation as one of the numerous forms of the earth goddess that we encounter not only on the Greek side, but also on the Italic side. Now there is the further and very welcome possibility of l i n k i n g Ceres by name with a figure from the circle of Demeter.

To summarise, it can already be considered the most probable that Ceres and Demeter were identical. This will be confirmed if we include the earth deity that W issowa wanted to separate from Ceres, the Tellns or Terra Wiater, in our investigation.

We have already noted some similarities with Ceres. In addition, Tellus appears as the goddess of the seed field, "which receives the seed and allows it to develop in its bosom *." Like Ceres the second, the first day of the {eriae *sementi "ae* in January was dedicated to her. Her main festival, the Fordicidia, also took place in the spring, on liL April, separated from the Cerealia by a four-day interval; it was celebrated with a sacrifice of pregnant cows *([ordae hohes),* which were offered to the goddess both on the Capitol by the pontifices and within the individual curiae. Next to this is the relationship to the dead. Tellns was also

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' R. Planta, Grammatik d. osk.-umbr. Dial. 1, 322 ; cf. M. Neumann in Stolz-Schmale, Eat. **Gramm.^ 64** f., where the further literature is given.

• So F. Pfister, 1. c. 11, note 21 after 11. Osthod, Etymolog. Parerga 1, 1 f. ; 29 ; **F. Vuller,** Altital. **Wörterb.** 86.

• K.. Brngmann, Vergl. Gramm. II 1 -, 522, who compares the original Neatrum Ceres with Fettus, where a similar change is present (cf. also W. F. Otto, Die Götter Griechenl. 188 renug - *pdf tt j.*

• See in particular the section on the cult ron Agnone.

^ Hz. **\Vie9owa,** RaBdlt ° 192 ; RBL 5, **334.**

Tellus is invoked at the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea* and in numerous testimonies she appears together with the manes as the power that brings forth all that is alive and takes it back into its bosom after death'. Accordingly, in the devotional formula the enemy army is consecrated to *Telluri ac dis manibus* and Tellus as well as Juppiter are called upon to bear witness by touching the earth with their hands when their names are mentioned, whereas they are r a i s e d to heaven when Juppiter's name is mentioned.

With 'fellus as with Ceres, then, we have the polarity between giving birth to the living and recovering the dead, w h i c h we encountered on the Greek side in the form of Demeter. The correspondence cannot be ignored and forces us to the conclusion that not only Ceres but also Tellns must have been identical with the Greek Earth Mother. We must expect such a result from the outset: After all, Tellns or 'ferra bfater is nothing other than the translation of the name of dv-poisyp, "the mother earth", whose identity with the f often enough still appears to be dnrch." But also for the special case of the sacrifice of powerful animals such as the /ordae *!b0 "es* we find parallels enough on the Greek side.- For the most part these are pregnant pigs, as seems to be said once anch for 'fellns (Arnob., adv. g. 7, 22) ; the sacrifice of a *sus praegnans* was also made to Maia, the earth goddess associated with Volcanus, on 1 May.- In addition, an o'9 aiiornn was slaughtered to Daeira, who was closely associated with Demeter - and the Sikyonian sacrifices of apognso eyxti¿ioro to the liumenids (Pans. 2, 11, 4) can also be inferred.

Another aspect that must be mentioned in this context is the connection with the springs or the nymphs. We had already come across their mention in the inscription of .lgnone *(diümpais ' kerriiais:* Dat. Plur.) earlier:

' A. Dieterich, Mutter Erde 75f. ; G. Wissowa, R u K .dR - 194 Anm. 8; BWL 5, 336 °G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 194f.¡ RNL 5, 336.

• A very instrumental example in L. halten, Arch. f. Religionawiss. 12, 599note -0. Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. 1178 note 2.

• GOiaR 180 f .- H. v. Prott, Leges sacrae 26, 11.

' **On the Italian** name **of the** nymphs, **see** J. **Wackernagel, Arch.** f. lat. lex. 15, 218 f.

They are closely associated with Ceres and we have already seen that it is the same with Demeter. But they also appear again with Tellus or Terra Wiater. In Horace's Säknlarlied (29 f.), the naming of the Tellns is followed by the ngooe *salubres* - here, too, the earth goddess was connected with the springs. On the famous relief of the Ara Pacis, the8 has found its pictorial representation: At the feet of the goddess, the spring appears in the form of an amphora from which the water flows.

It is well known that there is a close connection between the spring and the horse, that they appear almost as identical mythical concepts. We have been able to demonstrate this for Rome in the connection between the spring nymph Juturna and the Dioscuri, the Zrrzk u'i'lu' rot d'op." Of course, this goes b a c k to the Greek, but the same idea i s found in ancient Roman Knit, when the horse sacrifice to Stars, the figuus *October* on the 15th of the month, follows only a few days after t h e festival of the spring god, the Fontinalia. Accordingly, one of the two oldest sanctuaries of the Fons lies outside the Porta Fontinalis " on the *campus Martins,* which is named after the god. But there is another connection between the 0k- toberhorse - not only with the springs, but with the Earth Mother herself. The blood of this steed was partly dripped onto the altar of the Regia and partly kept in the *penus Vestae*. At the Parilia it was distributed to the people together with the ashes of the calves cut out of the *[ordae boves* and burnt at the Fordicidia.^ Thus the steed of Mars and Tellus, to whom the sacrifice of the Fordicidia was made, appear to us in close union. That this is of particular significance is shown b y t h e fact t h a t Anna Perenna, in whom we had also recognised an indigitation of the Ceres demeter, is also connected with the steeds of Mars. Her feast falls on the lö. Olärz, i.e. one day after the Equirria ; these, however, do not only apply to Mars, but have a long recognised temporal and factual connection with *Sguus October*.

' **L. halten, Arch. Jahrb. 29, 18b f.**

• **GGiaR** 4 f .- **G. Wissowa, Ru$dR - 221.**

• **G. Wissowa, RnKdR** - 14iL ° **G. W i s s o w a , Ru$dR** - 2£D.

• G. **Wissowa, RnKdR 144 f.**

Tellns is therefore not identical with the llosse, but it is connected to it, and this results in a close connection with the large Ceres demeter. From here we can go one step further. It is precisely in this form of appearance that the Greek Earth Mother has the horse god Poseidon next to her - in whose name this connectedness has found its expression. According to P. Kretschröer, the "lord" or "husband of the dñ" is in the Zfostdñç or *MoietòaFniv,*
i.e. the dñ-yäi p or butter earth, has been recognised. The connection belongs to the oldest that can be recognised from the Greek religion. Strangely enough, it has not yet been seen that this connection and, in addition, the original appellative meaning of the name of God also seem to have been preserved on Italian soil.

In the fifth region of the Etruscan celestial temple, which has been handed down to us by àlartianus Capella, the *courages are* first encountered and then side by side:

Oeres 7'ellurus 'l'erraegve pater Kolcoaus et *genius* (1, 49).

The various older interpretations of this difficult passage have been cited and discussed by C. Tlinlin.* His own attempt to explain that a male god *C!eres Tellurus* is to be assumed here - has been refuted elsewhere - but I am no longer able to uphold the suggestion made there that Tellurus should be understood as a separate deity identical with the Roman Tellumo.

At the beginning of the region are the *Courages reges,* a pair of gods - Juppiter and Juno, if a gloss inn Cod. Bern. ' is right. It is then obvious to associate a male comrade as *coniun:s* with the earth goddess Ceres. If Ceres is the earth mother, then she must - quite generally - have

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' The 9investigation, here the horse Arion, which descended from the yer connection of Poseidon llippios with Demeter-Erinyø, and it according to the name of the Arc (P. Kretschmer, Glotta 11, 195 f.) as the øcurse-grand" su dent (but cf. U. r. Wilamowitz, Griech. tragöd. 2, 226 Arim. 2 ; W. Schulze, Quaest. ep. 305 ; 528 ; P. $retschmer, kuhns Zeitschr. 29, 164), I resist, since I know that the subject will be treated from another side.

• L. Malten, Archaeol. Jahrb. 29, 181 f., where the older literature is cited.

• Glotta 1, 27 f. - D. Gött. d. Mart. Gap. 3 Arim. 11-12.

• 1. c. 46 f .- GOiaR 181 f.

' G. Thulin, D. Gött. d. Start. Cap. 3 Aøm. 10.

a "god of the earth" would have stood by their side. This forces us to understand *''ellurus Terraegue paler* as a unified term. The Latin translator has rendered the Etrnskian expression, which he had before him and which must have designated the male comrade of the female earth deity, in a double form. He drew on those names of the earth mother from the Roman pantheon from which he could recognise the appellative meaning "earth": Tellus nnd 'ferra Mater. He proceeded in such a way that, following the example of *Reatinus paler, Sora 3vS pater* n. A. m., he once expressed the relationship of the god to the earth adjectivally as *2'ellurus pater*[1] and then through genetics as *'errae paler.*

Who was this god of the earth? There are only the two possibilities that he was either merely labelled as such, and therefore without an individual name, or that he must be equated with the Volcanus mentioned immediately afterwards. The decisive factor is whether he (as we must assume) can be understood not only as the god of the earth, but also as the husband of Ceres. There i s no doubt that Volcanus had a connection with the earth, but his cult mate or consort is not Ceres, but Maia, whose name also refers to the earth, but who therefore does not necessarily have to be identical with Ceres. So only the first possibility remains that a nameless "god of the earth" was meant here. But this could have been none other than the "lord" or "husband of the earth" Poseidon. Both r e p r e s e n t the male companion of the earth, and just as Demeter stands next to him as his wife, so here next to the "god of the earth" is her Italic counterpart, Ceres.

When the Etruscans adopted the Greek god

It does not matter whether this happened in their Asia Minor-Aegean homeland or erat on Italian soil - in any case, the time must have been right,

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' *Teyurtt8* ict regular adjectival derivation of *Tellu8,* vergL C. Thnlin, 1. c. 3 Note 11¡ 47 Note 1 .- GGiaR 180 f.

• GGiaR 181 and the literature no. cited there.

in which the adoption took place. For Homer, Poseidon was already essentially the god of the sea; at that time the old meaning of the name was no longer understood.

A second aspect is also important. If the god Poseidon originally had no name of his own, but w a s named after his wife, the earth, then it is right to see this as a subordination of the masculine to the feminine in general.[1] This is not only characteristic of pre-Homeric religion, but also of the Etruscans. Of course, we cannot go into the question of Etruscan matriarchy and the significance of Etruscan women here." But it can hardly be a coincidence that the Etruscans adopted the name of the god of the earth's depths, which e x p r e s s e d the dominant role of the female over the male principle. One i s reminded of certain Etruscan analogues from the human sphere. When S. P. Cortsen ' recently described an inscription " like a. caiai. *strvme: mand : apa* as "A. Caine Strume, the husband of ölanth(uatnei)", we have in it a designation of the man as the husband of a certain woman, which corresponds most exactly to what we could observe in the divine sphere.

But let us return to our actual subject. Our last combination must show that the various manifestations of the Italic earth mother are identical with Demeter. For if Poseidon can be described as *'ellvrvs 'T'erraegue paler* and at the same time appears as the consort of Ceres, this presupposes that the latter did not differ in essence from 'he1lus and the Terra Mater and that all three are equal to Demeter. This all-round identity will be shown from a further angle when we now turn to a completely different area. We are referring to the

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' W. P. Otto, D. Gött. Griechenl. 33 - W . F. Otto, 1. e. 27 f.

For more recent **statements see Körte, BE 6, 754 f.** ; **F. Weege, Etrnsk. 3talerei 59 f.** ; P. Ducati, **Etruria antica 1, 43 ; E. $ornemann,** D. Stellung d. **Frau i. d. vorgrieeh. Bittelmeerkultur 34f.** ¡ **H. Nühlestein,** D. **$nnst d. Etrusk.** 1, 21; **70f. (and elsewhere)** .- **Glotta 18, 184 f.**

• 0. **A. DanieJsson, Etrusc. Inscr. in manuscript** overlay. 70.

to the great given orders o f life, especially marriage.

Demeter only needs to be mentioned here. That Tellns was invoked at the wedding and that she was sacrificed to by the newlyweds is well attested (Verg., Aen. 4, 166 end Servins Dan. z. St.). If the same relationship h a s hitherto been applied to Cerea, this can only be explained by the prejudice that she must originally have been a goddess of plant growth alone. Conversely, one would now almost demand that, given the other similarities between Cere8 and Tellus, both deities also agreed on this further point.

It should first be mentioned that, according to the testimony of Paul. Fest. p. 87 M. a torch was carried in honour of the goddess at the wedding. This leads to Servius' report that Ceres was not only the goddess of marriage, but also of divorce (Aen. 3, 139 ; 4, 58). Plan doubted this message on the grounds that in the later, *groeco ritu* celebrated knlt, the Ceres priestesses had to separate from the 3länners for the duration of their function; from this, he argued, the goddess had to be separated from the 3länners.
"by generalisation" Ceres became the goddess of divorce." We need not go into the various improbabilities and difficulties of such a view here, for we have unequivocal evidence of the originality of this very view. There was a law, allegedly dating back to Romulus, according to which, in the event of a reckless divorce by the husband, half of the property went to him and the other half to Ceres (Plnt., Rom. 22). The earlier attempt by Wigsowas °, now stated by himself, to confirm this news, which can be taken with some certainty.

' **A. Dieterich, 1. c.** 11¡ **G. Wissowa, RuKdlt ° 194 ¡ BIIL** S, **337 f. There also the quite true assumption that the so-called. Numa's law, according to which the widow who remarried before the end of the mourning period had to sacrifice a pregnant cow (job iy'niyo** 'n fordern bovetn) **(Plut., Nnm. 12), applied to Tellus.**

• G. **Wissowa, RuKdR - 301 note 9.**

• RE 3, 1975 ; cf. RuK.dK ° 194 note b. This law should **be modelled on another** one, **according to which the family of those w h o were sold to the plebeian officials was sold to the goddess (div. 3, 5ii, 7)**

The argument that the ancient Roman Ceres may be referred to as the 'victim' is as unsound as a more recent one, according to which the Demeter mentioned by Plutarch was identical with the 'fellns.[1] *Dean* only late authors such as Zosimos (2, ii) and Johannes Lydns (de mens. 4, 72) made this equation; the latter, incidentally, in a second passage in such a w a y that he explicitly adds that the sacrifice was to d§pyzpi olor s3 P,j (de mens. 3, 9). In older times, on the other hand, the rendering of tellns by fïj is t h e rule - ó rtñs *cfiq Try* Dion. Hal. 8, 79, *3 aedes 'Telluris *-, r'o cfç* Tij$ **íepór** Appian., b. c. 2, 126 ; cf. Cass. Dio 44, 22, 3 ; Diod. 37, 11, 1 - to that in our case only Ceres can be meant."

This would have confirmed the identity of Cere9, Tellns and I)emeter from all sides. Finally, a conclusion may be discussed which, it seems to us, necessarily follows from this identity.

We start from the term *oerritus:* Non. p. 44 M. *cerrili cl lar "ati male sani ct am C!ereris tea avl far arum incursa- tione animo "e:sam* or Gloss. 5, ö60 *cerriti* lorroli, gut not *G!erere ant larva incursenlur.** If the context of meaning with the Greek rrp'pó1§azoç and the *hjmphatus* formed after it already shows that Ceres must be a chthonic deity, then the equation with *lar "alus* makes this assumption evident. Ceres thus belongs here to the same sphere to which the *larvae* - ghostly, subterranean fiends ° - also belong: to the realm of Hades, to the dead.

' **G. Wissowa, RItL** S, **338.**

• here also clearly differed from Demeter (- Geres) in the following sats.

• **Th. Mommsen, Criminal Law 689 Arim.** 4 ; **100a Arim.** S **has the age of this law is disputed. Nevertheless, it may be pointed out that the fact that** the **sale of** the **woman was accompanied by the consecration of** the **flannel to the subterraneans** (#t'-"#a* **yRoríoię Geors** m queer esto ; **see Dion. foal. 2, 10,** 3 **and R. Schlesinger, Zeitsehr. f. Rechtsgesch** 8, 58f.), **is also otherwise indicative of** the **laws written** on the **king's side (cf. Ilommsen,** 1. c. Po */).* The sacral penance has always been very old, in Roman as well as in Greek law, and dates back to a time when the state **never dared to carry out the actions incumbent upon it, based on an** ancient **authority. See $. Latte, Holy Law 48 f.**

• **Further testimonies inn Thesaurus 3,** 878.

^ **W. F. Otto,** Die **ålanen 54 f.**

If our identification of Ceres with Demeter is correct, it would follow that the proximity of Demeter also brought the madness. In fact, in the glosses (2, 269, 3l) we find *cererosus* explained with d§p§zpióZęazoç. With the exception of Mannhardt, little attention has been paid to this gloss so far. Our findings put it in the right context. All the more so, since on the Greek side we find not only the nymphs, but also, it seems, the ghosts of the dead as bringers of madness. " Demeter would fit in best in this circle; she would have been, "like every earth deity, giving and taking, merciful and wrathful" at the same time.- We are reminded of the legend of the Arcadian Demeter (PanS. 8, 2ô, 2 f.). When she, in the form of a mare, was sprinkled by the equally large Poseidon, s h e was angry, but then took a cleansing bath in the river Ladon. Or, to put it another way: At the rumbling Demeter Erinys

so c a l l e d , ózt out My 2p ø#ai xalorøzr iptrčrrrr or 'Apzódr5

- she becomes Lnsia. We are even more justified in using this rumbling Demeter to confirm our assumption that the same goddess was also worshipped in Italy. Bücheler's acumen has recognised her in the Oscian tablet of Capua (Planta 128 ; Conway 130). There appears (line 3) a deity *Alert ar[enl-'ı--'I* and (12) *Seri amet[ikeiJ,* which h e put together with the Hesychnotiz 'Æpó ziøir *'Eqivíai faxeòóviç.* Anch of their infernal multitude (Ieçia om *su* • *I* Line 1 If. *'legionem svam')* seems to refer to[5] ; on Greekparallels havebeen pointed out byK. Latte. All of this confirms and supplements an earlier result: the hanging and swaying of the *oscilla* in the *{eriaesemenlivae.* *Diezer*Ritns has so far been encountered in the deities who appear as lords of the nocturnally raving souls and at the same time as transmitters of madness. Dionysus, Hecate and their circle. Here Ceres-Demeter joins in

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' Bythol. Forsch. 237 f.

• E. Rohde, D. grieeh. Roman 415 Arim. 1 ¡ Psyche 2, 76 Arim. 1.

° L. &alten, Arch. Jahrb. 1914, 184 * Kleine SehriHen 2, 2ii4 f.

* Yergl. r. r. Planta, Gramm. d. osk.-nmbr. Dial. 2, 626; otherwise Büeheler, 1. e. 856.

° Holy Law 80 Arim. 52 ; Arch. f. Religionswiøs. 24, 848 f.

in the best possible way. And if we had previously r e f e r r e d to the news that the rite of *oscilla* had come from the Oscars, there now seems *to* be confirmation of this as well. For if the idea of Cereg as the agent of madness and that rite belong together, it can be no coincidence that the word ***cerritus*** also goes back to the Oscian language. For in contrast to the parallel *cererosus,* it is probably not derived from the Roman name of the goddess, but only from the Oscian **Kerres* (stem
**Kerre-,* compare *Zerrt D* ut. Sg. and *kerriiu-')*, as we must also assume for the gentilitic *C!errinius*.

The attempt made by some scholars to connect *cerrilus* with *C!erus* , on the other hand, is factually anything but probable; it also contradicts the ancient evidence, which unanimously c o n n e c t s the word with Ceres, not Cerug.- Furthermore, the tacit assumption made in this combination, that *Oerus* actually landed **C!errus* ^, is a mere possibility and, if our connection with *Köq* is correct, not even a probable one. On the other hand, we find the gentile *C!errinius* precisely where Oscian was at home: in Apu- lia, among the Hirpinians, in Samnium and Campania, especially in Pompeii.[e] This seems to speak decisively in favour of our view.

Finally, a brief comment on the way in which the cult of the Ceres demeter c a m e to Rome. A decision here is particularly difficult, if not impossible. I f the piglet sacrifice on the open grave, as has been observed in the oldest layer of the Fornmsnecropolis, really belonged to the cult of Ceres, t h e n we arrive at a considerable age; we are therefore obliged to be doubly cautious. Only this much is certain, that nothing points to a direct reception of the Demeter Knlt by Rome. On the other hand, there are many indications of mediation by the

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' R. Planta, Gramm. d. osk.-umbr. Dial. 2, ä6.
W. flchalze ZGLEN 467.

• If. Usener, Götternamen 357¡ F. Muller, Altital. Wörterb. 86.

• See the passages in Thesaurus 3, 878.

• P. Fuller, 1. c. 86 .- W. Schulze ZGLEN 467 f.

The main points in favour of this goddess, similar to what we observed with Liber-Dionysus, are the same name and the fact that the same indigitations can be found on both sides (we will pursue this further in the next section) ; the last observations made can also be used. On the other hand, the very old occurrence of the goddess in Falerii (6th cent.) should not be underestimated ; it must also be remembered that the Etrnskian temple depicts the Demeter-Poseidon pair in its nr-
.original meaning is still recognised.

We see no way of getting beyond these two possibilities; the answer to the question of origin will therefore have to remain open for the time being.

Flora

The identity of Ceres, Tellus and Demeter will find further support in the examination of the various identifications that the Earth Mother has in Roman religion. For with them, too, we encounter the connection between mother goddess and deity of the dead that we observed in the previous section.

We have discussed two indigitations of Ceres, Panda Cela and Anna Perenna. Further mention should be made of Dea Dia, of whom Henzen ' and also Wigsowa - have claimed that she belongs in our circle. The name of the goddess was "no more a proper name than, for example, Bona Dea, but rather the epithet of a deity whose individual name has disappeared behind it"; however, this deity could hardly have been anyone other than Tellus or Ceres.

A closer examination of the second component, the anch
in the name of Dius Fidius, Diana and Jnppiter Diann " must teach us otherwise. The one from *Drin can only mean the "radiant, luminous one" ; the relationship

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' Acta fratr. Arral. 48 .- RuBdB - 195; 562 ; RE 2, 1478.

• G. Wissowa, RuKdR® 113 note 3.

• F. Solmsen, Stud. s. latein. Lantgesch. 110 f.

The reference to heaven (dien) and the heavenly light is therefore unrecognisable. This already leads away from Ceres; on the other hand, it finds its counterpart in the fact that when the public of the Ar- vals announced the forthcoming feast in the presence of the other brothers, he stepped under the open sky: mnai6u *i%ofis capil-1 --llI-!o sub dioo*[1] /coatro *orient]em* (CIL 6, 32 ü40) ; one remembers that, nm with the Dins Fidius to
On the other hand, however, certain relationships remain between the two sides.
to the deities of the earth and Aekerbane.
The central role of the Dea Dia in the Knlte of the Arralen must already be striking. Furthermore, the fact that the brothers after finishing their Knlt song *deas utiguenlazerunt et cereos adcendederunl* (etc) - that on the common 3Iahle in honour of the Dea Dia (on the third day) *lampades* were lit - is reminiscent of a series of similar rites in the Ceresknlt. Ovid, fast. 4, 411, reports on the lighting of the uacias taedae at the Cerealia; furthermore, we should recall the Cerealia's fuehshetzen, where burning torches were tied to the animals' tails *, or the Lychnapsia of 12 August, which was probably also a Ceres festival.- But these similarities are not necessarily conclusive. One has rightly recalled a number of identical or similar customs that appear at old corridor festivals and parades. And the rite of the Arval festival, which itself goes back to the older festival of Ambarvalia, will also have to be placed there.

The solution to our difficulties arises from a further observation. The epithet of Dea Dia is clearly the feminine of *Dius*. But even from the name of Diana

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' Sonat sub dico coloniine , cf. dasu I'. Leo, Arch. f. lat. lexicogr. 10, 273 f. G. Wissowa, RuKdR ' 131.

• Dessau 95J2 II v. 35 f. ¡ cf. G. Wissowa, Hermes 62, 344 f.

• W. -fensen, Acta fratr. Arval. 44 ; CIL 6, 2066 II 47 f.

* G. Wissowa, RuKdR 302. On the interpretation: W. Mannhardt, Hytholog. Forsch. 107 f. ; G. Wissowa, 1. c. 197 ; 0. Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. 818¡ Pfister,
BE 1 A 961 ; K. Latte, Arch. f. Relig. 26, 42.

• Th. Bommsen, GIL I - p. 324 ; see also F. v. Dnhn, Gnomon 5, 534. ' G. Betsmacher, Jahrb. d. Liturgiewiss. 4, 32 f. ; further in 11. Usener, Christmas ° 320 f .- G. Wisaowa, RuKdR ° 562 A.nm. 4.

As has been shown elsewhere, the same can be said of the Dea Dia; anch Bie was the "shining one". Since it can be taken for granted that Diana was related to the Blonde and received her name from the nocturnal celestial light, Dea Dia could also have been a goddess of the moon. Zn would be comparable to Zford", a daughter of Selene or even Selene herself: the "Allerlenchtende" (*Vor dffia) "; furthermore the Etrnskian 2'ir, who received a temple on the Aventine in Rome under the king Servius Tnllins as Luna (Tac., Ann. 15, 41).- Under this assumption it would then also explain what Dea Dia has to do with the Arvals. Catnll 34, 17

du cursu, dea, menstruo
meliens iler annuum
rvstica agricolae hours
bona [rugibus e:rples

— the goddess is equated with the Otonde. He "organises the course of the year by means of the otonates and thus fills the sandman's scissors". Wilamowitz - who wrote this paraphrase - remarks that no Greek would have attributed this to the moon, rather the verses were "entirely Italic in conception". One might compare Horace, carm. 4, 6, 38f. or the passage in Varro, de r. r. 1, 1, ö, where Luna appears among the deities of the land banes.

' GGiaR 95 f. ; to be added is a reference to W. Schnlse, Zeitschr. f. dergl. Sprachforsch. 57, 275 n. 25 .- P. Kretschmer, Glotta 13, 111f.

• Yergl. also the critical Pasiphae, whose visit to the Blonde L. hold, Arch. Jahrb. 1928, 124 f. 8nf.

* Wissowaß, RE 13, 1808 - We do not know the age of the temple of Luna on the Palatine, where the goddess *was* called *Noctituca* (G. Wissowa, RuJ£dR - 316). Since the name appears for the first time in a fragment of the Laevins (fr. 26 bforel), the temple could perhaps have been built only shortly before, so that it was a cult dea *graecuc* ritus. llellenist. Diehtg. 2, 289.

• The connection of the vondes with agriculture might also explain the at first sight strange 'fact that the sacrifice lnnae in Groecorf asij on 24 August coincides with a day on which the cioiidus stood high (Hommsen, CIL I - p. 327 ; G. Wisaowa, RuKdR - 316 ; RE 13, 1809). The first fruits were supposedly thrown into it at the founding of Rome (Ovid., fast. 4, 821f. ; cf. Plut., Rom. 11) ¡ thus the "iondur was not only connected with the dead, but also with the dead.

The moon goddess Dea Dia, which meant that there was a natural connection with agriculture.

Dea Dia as an indigitation of Ceres must therefore be ruled out for our context. On the other hand, another goddess whose close relationship to Ceres has not yet been sufficiently recognised, Flora, is all the more important.

Like the Ceres itself, we encounter her not only in Rome, but also among the Oscians and Sabines, where the name of her festival, the Floralia, also appears.[1] This circumstance, combined with the fact that the oldest sanctuary of the goddess on the Quirinal - between the temple of Quirinus and the *Capitolium vetus* - makes Varro's view (de l. l. 5, 74) quite probable that Flora once came to Rome together with the Sabines ; that the Roman Monti were inhabited by a burial tribe, i.e. Sabines, long before the city had united to form a community, may today be regarded as established.- Among the testimonies about the Floraknlt that have come down to us from the territory of the Oscian-Sabellian tribes, the inscription from Agnone is again of particular importance. The phrase *fluusai kerriiai* appears here in the penultimate place. The epithet alone suggests a relationship to Ceres, which is reinforced by the fact that on the feast of Floralia sacrifices are to be made in the grove (*fiuvsasiois* ^ fZB *hkrtÜ'tYI SOLL* roter).This is because a similar stipulation is not given for any of the other listed deities and thus assigns Flora a singular position. close connection with **Amma C!erealis* and **Perna Oerealis* shows howthis is to be understood: all three together stand before the final consecration to

*They are separated from the preceding deities by two inserted sacred terms. Now if it is correct, as we tried to prove earlier, that *A'nmo

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anch place of sacrifice for the creative earth (differently St. Weinstock, 1. e. 117 f.). A connection with Luna can be assumed all the more since the "Orab of Romulus", which was directly neighbouring the Graeeostasis, may also have been such a muadus (G. Wiß8owa, RukdR ° 235).

' F. Büeheler, Lexie. Ital. I$ ¡ G.Wissowa, Ru$dR - 198 ; SE 6, 5747 ; 5749. F. r. Duhn, Ital. Gräberk. 1, 458 ; similar L. Deubner, Arch. f. Religions-*wiee.* 23, Z03.

• On the form see O. Ilerbig, Glotta 5, SSH Anm, 1.

• See also p. 93f.

and **Perna* are lndigitations of Ceres itself, the same may well b e said of Flora.

This is consistent with what we know of her nature and her colour from the Roman religion. The general fact that she appears everywhere in connection with the flowering of plants, especially cereals, p l a c e s Flora in the immediate neighbourhood of Ceres. Accordingly, the (younger) temple of the goddess ' is situated directly next to that of
I)rity Ceres Liber Libera at the Circus Maximum; Tac. Ann. 2, 49 names *eodeni . . in* Coco *aedem Ptorae* after mentioning this sanctuary. In both cases the foundation was due to the same cause, because of a harvest *(propter sterilitaleni [rugum :* Fast. Praenest. 28 April). Furthermore, the more recent Floralia, celebrated *graeco rilu*, follow a group of festivals, the Parilia of the 21st, the Vinalia of the 23rd and the Robigalia of the 2nd of April. These are all related to the activities of the farmer and are in turn preceded by two similar festivals, the Fordia and Cerealia (5 and 19 April), both of which belong to the Earth Mother. It is not without probability that the older Floralia, which were regarded as /erioe *concepli ac* and therefore found no place in the oldest calendar, fell on approximately the same date as the later festival.- Finally, the name of the Florifertnm ": Although it was explained by Paul. fest. p. 91 ff. with the fact that good eo the *spicae [erunlur ad sacrarium "torae)* - but it is more correctly associated with *fertum,* a kind of sacrificial bone." These /erfa were regarded as a gift from Ceres: it is the archaic inscription from Falerii (CIE 8079) in which Ceres is called upon to grant {"rcfom.

Let us add a supplement t o this first result here. We had previously observed for Ceres that it was connected to the springs. This is confirmed in the case of Flora. For in the *luslrum missum* of the Arval brothers, Fons - appears next to her, and that this connection was

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' **G. Wissowa, RuJtdR97** ; **RE 6, 2748.**
• G. Wissowa, RuK.dR - 198 ; RE 6, 274b.
• G. Wissowa, RE 6, 2759 f.
• G. Wissowa, RnK.dR - 198 Note 7.
• W. flennen, Acta fratr. Areal. 146.

The fact that anch Vitrnv calls the goddess *nymphae* together with the {oatio "i (1, 2, 5) proves that the connection is not coincidental.

I)t by no means exhausts the mutual relationship between Ceres and Flora. If the previously quoted Faliscan inscription mentions honey as a gift from Ceres, this is also reflected on the opposite side:

Mella meum munus: zolucres ego mella dalvrus
ad riefen ef *cytisos el thyma cana Coco.*

— Ovid (fast. ii, 271 f.) has Flora answer his questions (cf. anch Anth. Lat. 747 R.). Certainly the Monig is here at first conceived only as a gift of the goddess of flowers and blossoming nature, as a gift of the giving earth. Beyond that, however, it has always been regarded as a gift to the subterranean and the 'dead, in the Greek as well as in the Roman.[1] This not only gives new support to the relationship of Ceres to the dead that we have claimed, but at the same time such a relationship also seems to arise in the case of Flora. And this is confirmed when we look at the goddess's festival, the Floralia.

It had previously become clear that they were related to the festivals of the Anssaat in April. But the Floralia are not only in April, they already extend in Caesarian times to the 3rd of A e t a i , and thus fell in equal parts in the following month (cf. Ovid., fast. 5, 185 f.). As far as can be surmised, the original Floralia, which as *[eriae concepti ac* were not fixed to a fixed date anyway, are to be set with the same leeway - i.e. roughly from the end of April to t h e beginning of May.[s] This provides a new relationship. For the 3Iai is the 3lonat of the feasts of the dead ": it includes the Le muria (9th, 11th and 13th) and the Agoninm (21st), which was dedicated to Vediovis ; we hope to have shown elsewhere that the Tobilustrium (23rd) and the later introduced 'Day of the 6lercnrius (15th) belong in the same context.

' E. 8amter , Familienfeste der Griech. u. Römer 84 f.; IL Usener, Kl. **Schriften 4, 403** ; **J. Marquardt, Rönn. Staatsverwaltung S, 312.**

• G. **Wissowa,** RnKdR - 198 ; **BE 6, ß748.**

• Yergl. also A. r. Domaszewski, Abhandl. s. röm. relig. 178 f. 0GiaR 87f. ; 188t.

but is it the sacrifice to Bona Dea *sub* son nnd an ff aia am 1. ff ai, which is directly related to the Floralia. Both deities are considered to be those of the earth and even appear to be identical (Macrob., sat. 1, 12, 21). Whether Bona Dea had a relationship with the dead is questionable (after all, she was equated by some with **2#orio *'Exäcy*** or Persephone: Macrob., sat. 1, 12, 23f.) ; but it is more certain in the case of Maia. For if in the case of her comrade Volcanus the relationship to the cult of the dead is 'dentlieh', this may perhaps also a p p l y to her, especially since she gave the name t o the entire month of the dead.

The Floralia would therefore, it seems, have beena celebration for the 'dead'as well as for the mistress of vegetation and the blossoming grain ? Ananalogy that immediately comes to mind is the Attic Anthesteria, which was also a celebration of the dead Butthe festival of Anna Perenna can also be compared, in which we may again with some probability assume such a celebration of the dead. " As we know from him that it was celebrated with particular serenity (Ovid, fast. 3, ii23f.), we hear something similar from the Floralia, especially from the scenic games celebrated there *(scaena ioci morem liberioris have* Ovid., fast. 4, 946; *maler ades florum ludis celebranda iocosis* 5, 183; *nosses i0cosae dulce cum sacrumlorae [estosgue lusus et licentiam follows* Martial. I praef.; faseiri *T'loralia laeta theatri* Auson., de fer. 25). The drinking of wine, which is characteristic of the feast of Anna Perenna (Ovid., fast. 0, 526 ; 531f.; cf. Joh. Lyd., de ment. 4, 49), recurs in the Floralia (Ovid., fast. ö, 337 f.). Another factis even more important: . Fromthe passage Dio 78, 22 we learn at least this much, **t h a t** gifts were distributed at the Floralia (diad/do "#n' nm). Specifically, we know - not to Rome, but from the country towns - that peas and beans were given to the people. Zn Horace's \Yorten about the Praetor or Aedil of tiannsinm (sat. 2, 3, 182) :

iti cicere otgue **John** *bona tu perdasgue lupinis*

' GGiaR 175 f. ; 189 f. ° W. Schulse, ZGLEN 469 f.

* W. F. Otto, **Wiener** Stud. 34, **327 and** above p. 99 f.

* F. Bücheler, Rhein. Mna. 42, 472. f.

— remarks Porphyrio: oafigoi *oediles huiusmodi res populo Flora- libus spargebant.* We hear something more on t h e occasion of Persius' mocking words r e f e r r i n g to the same process: 5, 177 *"igila et cicer ingere large*

rt:santi popolo, *noslra ui T'loratia possint*
aprici meminisse senes

— where the scholia note : *sparge, inguit, populo* cicer. *hoc enim in lvdis Tloralibus inier celera munera* guoaiaci *'Terrae ludos* colebanf et *omnia semina super populum spargebant,* of 2'siim ve/ot *suis mvneribus placaretur.* According to this, it was not only beans and peas that were distributed or, more correctly, "scattered" among the people, but all kinds of seeds. The reason given for this was that they wanted to favour the earth[1] with their own gifts. If these were in fact donations of food to the poorer people" (indeed Porphyrio ad sat. S, 3, 182, where he quotes the Persius verses ö, 177, on *rizanti populo: pauperes* eiiim *fuerunl),* this was not the only reason. But there must once have been a coltish meaning beside it.

For the use of adding all kinds of seeds to the earth.
can be compared to the 20 pe a "r "atpy'os, which plays a role in the anthesteria: The pots with this food were placed before the chthonic Hermes "for the dead" (Schol. Arist., Ach. 1076 and Ran. 218)." So here we go beyond the cult of the earth to that of the dead, and the same applies to the use of the bean, which Horace emphasises in particular. Here the connection with the cult of the dead is as clear as possible; moreover, we hear in a second instance in the Roman cult that it was thrown or ejected. Varro in Non. p. US M. says that at the Lemuria (that this festival is meant is shown by the

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' The fact that the flora was identical with it is thus explicitly stated here, in agreement with our view.

• G. Wissowa, RE 6, 2751 ; R. lleinse su Horat., sat. 2, 3, 182.

• E. Rohde, Psyche 1, 538 note 2 ¡ 3f. P. Nilsaon, Eranoa 15, 186 f.; P. Wolters, Festschrift J. Loeb 121f.

• R. Wünsch, Frühlingsfest auf der Insel äfalta 31f. ; E. Samter, Nene Jahrb. lö, 42 f.; G. Wissowa, RnKdR - 235; P. R. Arbesmann, D. Lasten b. d. Oriech. o. Rönn. 56 f.

Parallel passage Fest. p. 87 M.) high iociaat tioctu m dictitit se *Tiemurios donio extra* ianuarri *eicere.* More precisely, Ovid, fast. 5, 429 f., where it is said that they were black beans and that they w e r e thrown nominal times; the relation of the nominal number to the dead is well enough known.' Anch to the Rletidoe *{abariae* the goddess of the dead Carna was offered bacon and bean porridge -; likewise, the traces of a bean sacrifice at the tomb at the Fornmsnecropolis have become clear." T h i s confirms that the Floralia had some kind of relationship with the dead. A number of other customs that are evidence of the Floraknl t point in the same direction. Firstly, the .¥nting of lights: Ovid., fast. ö, 361 f.; Anthol. lat. 747, 3; Oass. Dio 58, 19, 2. We h a v e e n c o u n t e r e d the custom before, except in the case of Dea Dia, also in the case of Ceres. It has its parallel in the use o f lamps in the knlte of the goddess of the dead at Selinunte, the Malophoros - ; besides this, the same custom is attested for the Roman mortuary sacrifice (Sueton., Div. Aug. 98, 4 ; Seneca, De tranq. anim. 11, 7 ; de brev. vit. 20, 5; epist. 122, 10; Dig. 40, 4, 44). Furthermore, the use of the rose may be recalled here ; it is not only attested for the Floralia (Ovid., fast. 5, 336), but is also to be inferred for another festival of the goddess. If in Menol. rust. Colot. (cf. M e n o l . r u s t . Yall.) in the Chai is noted: sacrum *Mercur. el T "torae*, the latter has the latter Mommsen ^ probably correctly with the indication of Philocalus to the 23 Ilai combined: *facellus rose sumat.* It would therefore be a rose festival for the flora. Its location in the Ifai suggests at least a fnal character, and this is confirmed by the other uses of the rose. We are thinking of its i3edentnng for the Carnaria -, and also for the Rosaria or Rosalia , a celebration of the dead, which would be celebrated in May and June, i.e. in the same month in which the second rose

festival took place.

' 11 Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter 40f. - G. Wissowa, RnBdR - 236.
° F. v. Dnhn, Ital. Gräberk. 1, 423 .- F. v. Dnhn, Onomon 5, 534.
^ Cll l * p. 318. ^ G. Wissowa, RaBdA * 236.

' J. ätarqoardt, Staatsverwaltong 6, 311 ; G.Wissowa, RuKdB ° 434 Anm. 3 ; Steuding, RAL 2, 2328 ¡ M.P. Nilsson, Neue Jahrb. 27, 679 f. ¡ RE. s. r. ; Beitr. s. Rel.-Wiss. II 1914, 134 fl.¡ His assertion that t h e connection between the rose and the cult of the dead was only secondary is refuted by the evidence he himself cites. - An echo of this festivala could be the rose throwing, which took place on the Sunday before Pentecost, in connection with the local

Florafest and the Carnaria. The use of the lily and the flower in general in the cult of the dead, as we encounter in numerous examples, may a l s o be recalled in connection with the worship of the dead: *this ziolae*[1] and its name, which includes the relationship to flowers and blossoms. Flora shows - this much will be clear - the same polarity as the deity of the earthly\Yachstom and that of the dead, as we encountered w i t h Ceres and Tellus; she will therefore also be identical with Demeter, the Greek earth goddess. For the sake of the similarity of names, one might most likely t h i n k of Demeter Chloe °, whose festival, the Chloia, w a s celebrated in the spring, like the Floralia.- Of them we hear that they were celebrated /'tio noidiös zo' yepss (Cornnt. 28, p. ö5, 13 L.) ; this must lead us to a peculiarity of the Floralia that we have not yet considered.

their exuberant scenic games.

These plays were mostly performed by mimes in which *meretrices* appeared instead of actresses. At a sign with the tuba, they had to throw off their robes and p r e s e n t themselves naked to the audience, indulging in beautiful words and actions. Cf. lactant, inst. christ. 1, 20, 10: *celebrantur . .* ifli *ludi con enienter memoriae nierelricis (n. u.) cum oot'tti /OS63riO. Nam praeter er- b0rtt?fl* /3ceaiiow, go36os *obscenitas om'iis effunditur, exuuntur etiam zestibus populo flagitante nieretrices, guae tvnc miiiiarvm [ungu'ntur o[)ciis, et in conspeclu populi vsgve ad satielalem impudicorum luminum cum pudendis molibus delinentur.* As this description shows, the custom in historical times was nothing other than a parade of hetaerae, in which each was called out by name, place of residence and price (Tertull., de spect. 17). But it is questionable whether this w a s always the case. l)he Floralia after

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bfärtyrerknlt, in the Pantheon {S. Maria ad martyres); rergl. li. Grisar, Das Missale im Lichte der Stadtgeschiehte 114. Anders II. P. Nilsson, N. J. 680. ' J. Marquardt, 1. c. 6, 312 note 1 ¡ G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 434 note 3 ¡ Steuding, RAL 2, 2322 f.

* *E.* Norden on Yerg. Aen. 6, 883 f.; cf. to 221 ; M. P. Nilßson, N. J. 27, 67fi note 4; Stending, RlfL 2, 2322.

• 0. K.ern, Athens. Nitt. 18, 192 f.¡ Connection with the Tfades: U. r. Wilamowitz, Phil. Unt. 22,. -0. Kern, 1. c. 197.

The Greek rite and thus also the scenic games were only introduced in the year 23b at the behest of the Sibylline sayings, so that one has the impression that the appearance of the *merelrices* also only became common at that time ; under the guise of an Italic name, it has been said, a Greek cult was introduced. This assumption cannot be strictly refuted with our material; however, a number of observations can be made that point in a different direction.

Above all, it is remarkable that the Greek hlimus does not contain anything similar." This gives the impression that an older custom that already existed in Rome, from which one did not want to abandon, was inserted as a special intermezzo into the framework of the scenic plays. A second note seems to point to this: Schol. Juv. 6, 2ö0 *meretrices ... Floralibus ludis armis cerlabant gladiatoriis* o/gue *pugnabant.* The hetaerae thus appeared in yet another form. Whether within the oefimen themselves is not stated; in any case, in this case it would only have been an intermezzo that had an independent role within the scenic player. This raises the idea that here, in contrast to the ölimns, nm is a foreign, originally independent ätoment. The appearance of the *meretrices* would then have been retained as an existing custom - *priscum niorem* as Valerin's Olaximus 2, 10, 8 calls it - and incorporated into the games that were adopted later. The "mock battle" of the maidservants, which is reported for the Nonae Caprotinae, could be compared - all the more so as the ottciTfoe are closely related to the iiberioe, from whom the *meretrices* were recruited, in terms of origin and social position.

This brings us to the question of interpretation. Plan has meant that the exposure of the female body must be a "Wissowa - has also taken this route.

' G. Wi8sowa, RoKdR - 197 .- ß . Seich, Der Mimns 1, 171 f.

• It is not possible here to go into **the manifold** traditions **about** naval battles **(suletzt** A. Lesky, Areh. f. Religionswiss. S4, 73f.), which may have meant very different things in detail (W. F. Otto, Philol. N. F. 18, 190 note 44).. G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 184.

* Steuding, R6fL I S, 1486. ° RE 6, 2752.

beaten. He used a verse from Lactantin (de ave Phoen. 127), where the red colour is characterised by the following comparison:

goofis *inest [oliis,* guae Jet *agreste papa "er*
cum pandil bestes Flora rvbente solo (Heinsins ; ccm B'C,

But this is a spreading out of the garment, nm the carpet of plants and flowers that Flora lays over the earth (cf. Ovid., fast. ö, 355 f.) - not an uncovering of the body. What the Roman Branch meant is, as we shall see, to be sought in quite a different direction.

Firstly, the news that the *merelrices* engaged in a kind of gladiatorial combat must be referred to again. We know that gladiatorial combat was originally part of the funeral ceremony and thus part of the funeral ritual. This could be a clue as to how we should conceptualise the fight of the hetaerae. There is also the fact that the lodi *T "torales* were opened with the Kuba. This news gives the same Jnvenal scholion that speaks of the fight of the *meretrices* in gladiatorial weapons. One involuntarily thinks of the appearance of the tnben- blowers on the old Munich gladiator relief, whose owner was first recognised by C. Weickert, or on the well-known funerary monument of Chieti." Anch the role of the tnba at the funerals ' must not be ignored, as it h a s already been mentioned in the interpretation of the 3lünchener Reliefa.

The battle of the *merelrices* thus seems to belong to the Knights of the Dead. The question remains as to whether the same a p p l i e s to their other appearances before the people. It i s not only a matter of exposure, but at the same time obscene speeches *(erborum licentia:* Lact.) and gestures *@udendi* mofus) are reported. As far as gestures and exposure are concerned, reference should be made here to a phenomenon that can be widely observed.

' **L. hold, Rönn. Mitt. 38/39, 328 f.**

• **Münch. Jahrb. d. bild. kunßt** N. F. 2, 1 f.

• **Monum. dei Lincei 19, tav. I.**

• **GGiaR 189 f.** ; **J. &arqeardt, Privatleben der Bömer 1, 3b1.**

° **0. Weiekert, 1. c. 8.**

° **Examples** in R. 8amter, **Gebort, Itoehseit und Tod 109 f. and E. $ornmann, Die Stellung der Frau in den vorgriech. Itittelmeerknlt. 26 f.** ; **some**

Nudity "shames" or "frightens" certain spirits; this is especially true of the display of the pballos, the naked buttocks or the female *pudenda.* This provides a direct link to the action of the Roman *meretrices:* It could also have referred to the spirits, i.e. in our case to the souls of the dead.

Speeches of the same character are inextricably linked with exposure and the obscene best. We have already encountered them twice in the 'fotenknlt, in the .ttellane and at the feast of Anna Perenna. In fact, there is an immediate connection between the Floralia and the naughty songs that the girls sing in honour of Anna Perenna, as well as the general character of the Italian farce. In addition, the obscene gestures are once explicitly emphasised in the Atellane (Tertnll., de spectac. 17 Anf.). From another point of view, the connection just indicated can be even more sharply defined. We recognised in an earlier section that the costume of the Atellans *was* modelled on that of the Etruscan god of the dead, *ipersu*. But he was not only the model here. But also as *'persv* costumed, the warden appeared at the 'fier fight of the 'Fomba degli anguri , which in turn reminded us of that of the gladiators and, like the latter, had its place in the death knell. We must raise the question of how the same deity could appear within a bloody, cruel battle and at the same time enter into the comic and lascivious popular farce. There seems to be a very remarkable parallel in the knlte of Flora. For if the *merelrices* at the Floralia not only performed their lasciviousness and obscenities, but also a gladiatorial game, the correspondence with the double role of the *'persu* is obvious.

Admittedly, the gladiatorial game of the Floralia is not a deadly fight but, as we can safely assume, only a mock battle. This could make a significant difference. But we must bear in mind that the gladiatorial combat is not the deadly fight.

Remarks by A. Bäumler in 'Der Ifythos von Orient u. Occident', ¥ o r r . 3 LB9II f.

It was the flowing of the blood and its consumption by the dead person that was the decisive moment.[1] We therefore understand very well why life could be given to the condemned gladiator; it was enough that his blood had flowed. Or another example: Together with the gladiators we encountered the *praefica* above (p. 57 f.) ; it had taken over the function of the women who had scratched their faces during the funeral, ut *sanguine oslenso in[eris satis(acianl.* The mock fight of the *merelrices* could not have had any other meaning ; it is possible that it once led to an easy death.

Perhaps we can go one step further. What does it mean that the *merelrices* appear at the Floralia? One could recall that the hetaerae belonged partly to the estate of the unfree and partly to the estate of the libertae. Slaves and freedmen enjoy special privileges at such festivals, which are dedicated to the deities of the earth; they are under their special protection (see above p. 103). We can also assume a corresponding relationship with Flora as an indigitation of the earth mother. But there is another aspect as well. In the fresco of the Tomba degli Anguri, the god *'persu* himself appears in a mask, both in the fight and in the jolly and relaxed 'Ganz, who seemed to us to be the model for the later Atellanes (p. ii3 f.); we also recognised the reference to the wolf-like Lord of Hades in the animal accompanying him, the wolf. Should the *meretrices* then have been understood not only as protégés, but also as images of the goddess to whom the festival was dedicated - Flora?

Here we must mention the tradition according to which the goddess herself was a *meretri:s* and appointed the Roman people as heiresses to her fortune acquired in this way; the return of her feast day was then to be celebrated from the interest earned on it. But we have a second legend where something similar appears: we mean the tale of Acca Larentina or Larentia, who was married to the goddess Larenta or

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[1] L. hold, **Rönn. Mitt. 38/39, 329.**

• **The testimonies in** G. **Wisaowa, RnKdR - 198 note 1.**

Larunda and the[r] fotenfeste der Larentalia'. She is said to have been the lover of Hercules, at the same time she is described as ***a mere iri:s*** and as the owner of a fortune that she had bequeathed to the Roman Yolke; again, it appears that a festival or, more correctly, the celebration of a funeral sacrifice is held in her honour. Admittedly, even here one has wanted to recognise a later tradition. But the fact that in both cases it *i s* a *meretrix* who is connected with the dead and their feast must advise caution. This reference may be all that is needed here; a definitive clarification could only come from a study that i n c l u d e s Hercules in its price.

If we proceed from these considerations, the thought suggests itself that the connection between the *meretrices* that appear at the Floralia and the fact that Flora herself was regarded as such a ***meretriz*** cannot b e coincidental. The *merelrices* obviously represented the goddess herself or her retinue. From here on it becomes clear that we were right t o equate the appearance of the ***'persu*** in the Etrnskian funeral play with the role of the ***merelrices*** at the Floralia.

This is not the end of our interpretation. For if Flora nm is an indigitation of Demeter, then we must ask whether similar breaks cannot also be found in her cult.

Of course, the Greek model must be omitted for gladiatorial combat. It is Italic or Genoese-Etrnskian - and can only have been added later. When we now see that the flora can be traced to the Sabines, Sainnites and Campanian Oaks, we are reminded that the gladiatorial games are said to have come to Rome not only from Etruria, but also from the once Etruscan Campania - the appearance of the *merelrices* with gladiatorial weapons could also originate from the Campanian flora.

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[i] G. Wissowa, RnKdR - 23S f., where the more detailed literature is given.

• L. hold, Rönn. btitt. 38/39, 328.

° G. WisSoWa, RuKdR - 198 note 3 ; RE 6, 2747.

If this side of the matter is therefore ruled out, the question remains for us as to where we can find the model for the lascivious abandonment of the Floralia. It is all the more urgent as a similar custom appears not only in the knlte of Flora, but also in that of Anna Perenna, which also goes back to Demeter.

Let us first stay in Rome, where Demeter is represented by Ceres and Tellns. In the immediate vicinity of her festival in April, on the 25th of the month, lie the Robigalia, which is also a rural fat: here they prayed for the grain rust to stay away from the fields. This results in a close connection between Robigns and Ceres, which can also be confirmed by other observations. For example, it has long been pointed out that the hand sacrifice on the Robigalia and the sacrifice of reddish animals on the closely related *augurium* cotioriom cannot be separated from the fox baiting on the Cerealia.' It is also very remarkable that Ovid. 4, 936 speaks of the ***lurpia*** *obscaenae ezla canis* (cf. Hor., ep. 1, 2, 26) ; here again we have an *obscaenum* at a festival close to Ceres. And in the same direction leads the message that at the Robigalia a competition of the boys took place (Fast. Praenest.). This corresponds to the appearance of the *merelrices* at the preceding " Vinalia *, later assigned to Venus, but it also corresponds to their role at the subsequent festival of Flora.

The Greek knlt speaks much more poetically. The oio2poioy/ai, which are reported to us on various occasions at Demeter festivals, offer something comparable. We have already referred to the n'nd "i at the festival of Demeter Chloe; of course, it is not quite clear whether these were obscene, indecent jokes. The testimonies about the Jsijrtn, the celebration on the eve of the Thesmophoria, in which the jokes and diatribes of the frans play an important role, are much clearer.

' G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 195f.

- **II. Wisaowa, RuK.dR - 196 f.**
- **Th. Nommsen, GIL** I - **p. 316.**
- G. **Wissowa, RuK.dR - 290.**
- **The testimonies in Preller-Robert, Griech. äfythol. 1, 778 note 4.**

We know the most about it - thanks to one of
E. Rohde published Scholion zn Luk., dial. mer. 7, 4[1] of the Attic haloes; here the niw2poloyioi of the women the niw2poloyioi of the women and especially their indecent character are made quite clear by the description of the scholion. It is noteworthy that the hetaerae also play a special role in this festival. They regarded this day as their own and were allowed to expect special gifts from their lovers on it (Luk, dial. mer. 1, 1; 7, 4. Alciphrus, ep. 1, 33; 2, 3).

Thus we already have on the part of the cult of Demeter a correspondence to the Floralia which could not be better wished for ; there is not the slightest reason to endeavour here, a s has been done ", to Aphrodite 'B Deco. But we can g o one step further if we now ask more about the meaning of oin2poioyiaz.

Anch for Syracuse we are told of a ten-day seed festival celebrated in honour of Demeter, during which an *at'a/qoLoyecv rac'a c'a¿ Hrsg'oq* dlZjlor9 opii/"s took place. Diodorus, who has preserved this news for us (5, 4, 6), s a y s that it happened dii **zo zjr** deor est z z 9 2fooy9 **opnny§ JvnoryJyr ye2'inoi** dii **zjr oinypoJoy(nr.** This refers to the well-known story t h a t the 6tagd Jambe knew how to scare away the grief of the goddess nm her lost daughter with her jokes and make her laugh (hymn. Horn. in Dem. 204 f. ; the like Nik, Alexiph. 131 n. Schol. ; Apollod. 1, ii, 1, 3 etc.). The Orphic tradition has given special colour to this feature: There it is not Jambe, but Banbo, who, by her ribald jokes and indecent movements, makes Demeter laugh and makes her a c c e p t the kykeon offered to her (Clem. Alex., Protrept. 2, 20 -= Euseb., praep. ev. 2, 3, 31f. Arnob., adv. nat. 5, 26)."

Here we not only have in the behaviour of the Baubo the antithesis of that of the *meretrices* at the Florialia - we also find a possible interpretation. Usener ' has shown in a short essay how, in the appearance of the jambe, the unpredictability of the speech and the resulting

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' **Kl. Schriften 2, 365** f. - Cr. **Wissowa, RuKdR - 197.**
• 0 Kern, Orphic. **fragm. p. 126 f., fr. 52.**
* Bleine Schriften 4, 469 f.

The laughter of the transients, the lament for the lost 'daughter' who had been taken by HadeB. He used a Sardinian custom for comparison and also recalled the *scvrrae* at the funerals of Roman nobles. Joking and mockery *are* alien to the world of the dead, just as loud laughter contrasts with the nature of the *unibrae silenles,* the taciii *manes*. In the Lnpercalia, the two boys, after the impending danger was represented by the blood smeared on their foreheads, had to laugh loudly after the blood was quickly removed; anch there the laughter emerges as an expression of liberation from danger and death, as its indirect opposite." And this is also where the derbomic and indecent belong, as the role of Banbo next to Jambe shows. We recall that the souls of the dead are "frightened" by obscene gestures (p. 140 f.). The obscene is, as it were, the highest heightening of the comic, its strongest and most unrestrained unleashing; thus it is set against the world of the dead, the lament for what has been lost, as the most direct and drastic expression of an indestructible life.

The K.ult of Agnone

We have already mentioned the Oscan inscription from Agnone (Planta no. 200 ; Conway no. 17ö) on several occasions. It is a bronze plate inscribed on the front and back with the inventory of a sacred precinct. A number of deities are named w h o w e r e honoured within this district. It itself belonged to Ceres as a whole.

The significance of this document lies in the fact that it provides a sample of what we believe to have observed within the Roman Knltes. The Greek origin of Ceres that we h a v e claimed must be confirmed here. But

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' W. Mannhardt, Nytholog. Forsch. 99 f.
W. F. Otto, RE 6, 2066 ¡ Philol. 72, 188¡ rgl. Weinreich, Hermes 68, llß A. 2.

• On this district, see the report by F. S. **Cremonese** in Th. 3fommsen, Ilnterital. Diat. l29f.

The deities close to her and their various indigitations also find their counterparts. We have already dealt with a number of such indigitations worshipped in Agnone and have seen that they fit into the framework of our approach. It now remains to provide the same evidence for the remaining deities.

This already indicates a certain limitation of our task. The interpretation of the inscription is not an end in itself for us. We are only interested in those deities who are able to provide a clue to the original nature of Ceres. Those among them who are characterised by the addition of the epithet *kerriio- 'C!erealis'* as having a particularly close relationship to gods will be given a special place.

The inventory is divided into a list of statues and a list of altars that have been erected within the sacred precinct. At the beginning and end o f each list are the knelt objects dedicated to the *e "klui* or *ecklui paterei* (Dat. Sing.). Bücheler ' has brought him together with A?ei 9, a name of the god of the underworld, which appears on the gold plate inscriptions of the tombs of 'Phnrioi'. The linguistic difficulty that the Ogkian word belongs to an -o stem was attempted to be eliminated by the reference to the well-known V'echse1 of "Z'pizZop: 'Zgizl 9, f7'ispox2op: Zfnzpox2Jp, *'scIoz'xo9 :'**F'coxl j; o.** A. m.". W. Schulte has provided additional evidence that a corresponding vocative height actually occurs in one of the addresses." Although this already p r o v i d e s a dentnng, it seems appropriate to point out a second possibility that h a s not yet received any attention.

I-fesych gives the explanation for the lemma Aüzo2o¡;: 'ApyJ9 nnpö 3fszoaorzfro'9. In this, assuming the syncope in the middle syllables, which is so common in Oscian, the model of our God could be seen.

It has recently been remarked that *Evno!oq* must be Hermes as a god.

' Rhine. Eins. 36, 332 - Kl. Sehriften 2, 412.

• IG 14, 641, 1-3; ff. Diels, Yorsocratics II - 176 ; 0. $ern, Orphicor. fragm. 106.

• **$nhns Zeitechr. 32,** 196 Anm. ; 'ämif p-- Wackernagel 248.

He may have been the Jngend. But we know that as such he bore the epithet f "tdoxóp s (Hesych. s. v.) in Metapont. So we will have to look for another interpretation, and the most obvious one is probably ArzoZ*rç, a name of the 1) ecate. Then it would have been the chthonic Hermes, the escort of the dead.

It should come as no surprise to find Hermes together with Cereg. Not only do the two meet in our case, but in the second Roman Lectisterninm of the year 217 fiercurins is also paired with her. But regardless of whether we are looking at Hades or Hermes Ç *"zouoyuó¿* here, Ceres appears, just as in the bottle of Vibia (Planta no. 128 ; Conway no. 130), connected with the realm of the dead and its gods. Here, as there, it is obviously Demeter, and in this context it cannot be denied that in the *maalúis kerriiais of* our insular scriptures the "anen" must be omitted. The fact that they are described as belonging to Ceres-Demeter has no equivalent in the fact that in Athens, too, the dead are described as d§p zpeioç (Plnt., de lac. in orbe lnnae 28).

Bücheler has also - the initially seemingly enigmatic

' G. Gianelli, Gulti e miti della Magna Grecia 8S ; iiitrem, RE 8, 786.

• F. Büeheler, Leaic. Ital. XTI*; W. F. Otto, Philol. N. F. 18, 212 ; O.Wissowa, RuRdR ° 110 Å n m . 7. - Osk. *maato-* next to lat. tnñ-was, fõ-res forces sur Ansetsung eines Stammer *mõ- (Walde - Pokorny, Yergleich. Wörterb. 2, 280 f.). The name of the Etruscan god of the dead, Plotter, and the clan belonging to him (õfonfurno, 3fentøona, õfantua, etc.: W. Schulze, ZGLEN 274) can hardly be separated from this. In Etruak we have to assume an -nt suffix within the name system (W. Sehulze, ZGLEN 100 ¡ 340 ; P. Kretschmer, Glotta 14, 106): for: fnra 9, eel : **veln9,* which then lies in further formations such as cclii be , cefnfi, Pot(ujntilius, Yolen- tilioø ror. Similarly, we will have an -at formation *tnõ-n'9, *mò-tif anzn-øetsen, from which *mô-tit-łłł (- ManLtt8*),* MÔ-żtf-rd (su 3fantłłrna) are derived. The connection of the Latin word *mõ- - if we have to assume it as nnr Latin and not a Latin-Etruscan isogloss - with an Etruscan suffix would be no different than the name of *Diuturna* or *Mactarna* (Etruscan. *mac8trna)* with its Latin stamin and the Etruscan formants added to it ¡ cf. GGiaR 11 [similarly, as I subsequently saw, A. Trombetti, La lingiia etrusca 111¡ there p. 55 f. also on the -nt suffix].

• 0 K.em, Relig. d. Griech. 1, 36 ; W. F. Otto, Die Götter Griechenl. 32.

• Rhine. Ems. 33, 10 = Kl. Schrift. 2, p57 f. ¡ Lexic. Italic. XP.

liganakdikel entrai by the reference to the Demeter *8eopo- if'óqoę* rind 8cøpo#šns and the *Peres legifera* (Verg., Aen. 4, ö8), which was modelled on it.

(= "ï - e-* v ®--ropópui). This centring is probably s t i l l u s e d today, despite some difficulties Bücheler himself did not conceal in the formation of the first compositional group ',
can be considered the right one.

Unfortunately, it is not entirely certain how we got the name *Amer-slalal* (Dat. Sq.), zn erklären haben. Mommsen " had in the *'Interstila'* sees the goddess "who steps between the various possessions and keeps the *intersłilia agroruni *,* the boundaries, immovable". In fact, the agreement with the *Oeo¡ioi:fóqoę,* to which the division of the fields and thus the regulation of ownership is owed, cannot be ignored. Servins remarks zn Aen. 4. 58: *legif'erae C!ereri] Sed hoc ideo f'ìngiłvr,* guia otite *inventvm [rumentum a C!erere passim homines size lege agabantur; quae [erilas inlerrvpta est in enlo Msm [rumentorum,* p0sfguam *e:s* ay ro r u nt *d i i i si o n e nala sum iura.*.*

A further function of the goddess will become apparent if we briefly return to amwoí *kerriiai* (Dat. Sing.), which we h a v e already discussed.[6] We were able to establish there that it was an indigitation of Demeter known as "Stutter" (in whose name - indeed - this condition also lies).

Something similar might b e meant by *fumei kerriiai* (Dat. Sing.), whereby one could think of Demeter *'f'vaí(oo.* The term all *genelri:s crealrix* once again refers to the maternal, child-bearing side of the goddess and places her before us as an independent being.

' For the second limb compare iødec from *bona-die-s; med-dĞ, osk. meddíst ans *øiedo-d*c-ø; gr. royoá-íaips (Plut., 'lib. Gracch. 9).

• Sub-Ital. Dial. 134.

° On iatcrøtitioin rind *inter8titio* see M. Gantor, Die röm. Agrimen- soren 167 ; interstitio e.g. Corp. Agrim. p. 206, 7 L. p . 169, 9 Thul.

• Anderß F. Büeheler, Lexic. Ital. V: *z Deae* tomquatn *intervenienti".* But *intervenire* is also u s e d by the àgrimensors in the sense of "øda- zwiøehen liegen", admittedly not in reference to dİ0 *IimitR8,* but to what they themselves realise. Elsewhere, however, the Yerbnm is dentlieh in the sense of a boundary setting: Jarolanns, dig. M, 3, 4 medium pericø, ęui iifraøgtie 'sedes distingøat, iiitercenit (ødaswiøchenliegt").

• S. above p. 91 f. - P. Bretschmer, Wiener Stud. 24, b23f.

similar not nnr that we have a special **Amma* -, but that we also have an independent *8tayocpóqoq* and, as it seemed, also an ****Inlerslila*** next to the Ceres demeter itself.

Incidentally, t h e name Demeter i s also found in the name of a second deity. In a stone from Samninm (Planta 180 ; Conway 162) it says:

*.I *!- ' maal rice*
.I• [ulre . e . .

In the first line one has to add *[sakar•I klum,* in the second probably *fkm-Iras [ułref-'sI* zn'. W e w o u l d then have the anch with the Umbrians (Planta 295 ; Conway 354) rind in
Picenum " revered Cnpra mater, who was not wrongly equated with the Roman Bona Dea." We have touched on her relationship to the Damia all Indigitation of Demeter above (p. 94 f.).

Furthermore, on our inscription we encounter an image of an altar for the *ana[riss* (Dat. Plur.), i.e . for the *'Imbres'.** It is therefore obvious that this is connected with an earth goddess,
i.e. a goddess of vegetation and creative production, t o think of the fertilising rains of heaven. We know her from the Greek religion - here associated with Zeus *"Opflqtos"* or with the angel par excellence, whose Greek name belongs together with the verbum oćpeu', meaning the "moistener" or "fertiliser".- The same idea recurs in the famous fragment of the Aeschylean Danaides (44 N.S ; Wilamowitz p. 380), where, according to .tphrodite's words, the "holy heaven" longs to catch the earth and make it yearn with its rain:

'åç) QO ç ó a ' ečróOrTOç OćpØrOt' *uz aź v*

' R. S. Planta, Gramm. d. osk.-umbr. Dial. 2, 639 ; curiously enough, Wissowa in his discussion of the inscription (RuKdR ' 110 note 7) leaves the second line completely unconsidered.

• Mommsen, CIL 9, 6294 p. 502 ; Unterital. Dİal. 350.

• ôfommøen, Lower Ital. Dial. 351; G. WissoWa, RnKdR - 816 Arim. 5.

• See J. B. Hofmann, Festsehr. Streitb. 364.

J. Wackernagel, Kuhns Zeitschr. 29, 129 ; Spraehl. Unterø. z. Homer 136 Arim. 1 ¡ F. Bechtel, Griech. Dial. 1, 39 ; F. Dornseiff, Hermes 64, 272.

• A. Dieterich , flutter Erde 40 f., where other things are mentioned; 0 Kern, Relig. d. Griech. 1, 36 ¡ W. F. Otto, Die Oötter Griechenlands 131.

And likewise with Enripides (fr. 898 N -) :

' .. ., .

ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.

di' uir ğpózscor čÿÿ zt xnì 4óHet yZroç

Let us only recall other things here: the begetting of Persena by the golden rain of Zeus', corresponding to the fact that Danae was caught under the earth in a golden thalamos - or the artificial bond between Zeus Ryetios and Demeter Europe (Pans. 9, 39, 4), in which one will not recognise the earth again.°

In the Oscian inscription we encounter, if not pronounced, the same idea. And certainly taken from the Greek circle of imagination, if one does not recognise a plurality of äpğpo' or a knit of them there. For not only do we encounter the aforementioned coexistence of Zens Hyetios and Demeter Enrope in Lebadeia, but also in Plntarch, sept. øap. com. lfì Demeter Proerosia (alongside Poseidon Phytal- mios) is connected with Zeus Ombrios. So there can b e no doubt about the mutual agreement."

Flora *(fluusai kerriiai* Dat. Sing.) still needs to be mentioned. We saw before that in Rome she is not only encountered as the creator of the living, as the goddess of all that flourishes and grows, but also as the mistress of the dead. This is confirmed once again in our case. For here the *Boro *C!erealis appears* in the centre between the goddesses *innate and **Perna C!erealis,* who also belong to the chthonic realm, and **Euklos,* the lord of Hades or, if our interpretation is correct, the companion of the departed souls. Then it must also b e l o n g to the same stratum, must therefore have been a god of the dead.

The last thing left to discuss here is the mention of a

' L. Radermacher, Arch. für Religionswiss. 25, 216 f.

• U. v. Wilamowitz, Seat. Berl. Akad. 1929, 40.

• [Cf. also K.. Latte, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 84, 2ìì4 A. 2. Å 0 r r . Not.)

Hercules C!erealis (hereklúi [i] *kerriiúl* Dat. Sing.). The goddess thus appears to be associated with a male comrade, who otherwise appears at her side and who, in this connection, is one of the strangest figures in ancient religious history.

Firstly, the Roman cult is to be compared here. According to the Zengnis of Macrobius, sat. 3, 11, 10, Ceres was sacrificed to Hercules on 21 December *sue praegnate panibvs mvlsis*. \We know nothing else about this sacrifice, but have to rely solely on the facts provided by the news itself. A second May we encounter a liaison between Ceres and Hercules in Roman knit. The foundation day of Hercules Invictns and circm "i mozi "iu "i on 12 August is not only closely connected with that of the same god at the Porta Trigemina on the 13th of the month, but also with festivals of Ceres. Quite apart from the fact that the August in question stood on the dead *C!ereris* " - the *sacrum arm ersarium C!ereris*, which we first encounter in the time of the Hannibalic War and which Mommsen " presumably fixed on 10 August, lies in the immediate vicinity of the two Hercules days. Two days earlier, the annual celebration on the occasion of the erection of an altar to Ceres and Ops Augusta in rico *iugario* by Augustns, and on 13th August the Fasti Allifani record the foundation day of Flora and *circum* mozic "n ; that this was one of the later restanrrations of the temple is merely an assumption.

The feast days of August next to the Ceres-Hercnles sacrifice of the 21 December, we have all the more reason to stand in the vicinity of this sacrifice as the same festivals as there recur. We remember the days of the Consus on 12 December, and on
21 Aug, of Ops on 19 Dec and 10 Aug, of Tiberinus on
8 Dec. and 17 Aug. (where it need not be any other designation of the Portnnalia ^ zn rim), the Diana

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' On the form of the name W. Sehulze, Kuhns Zeitschr. 32, 196 Arim. ; *'Bm-b "ipo-* Wackernagel 248. Another possibility in G. Deroto, Stndi etrnøchi 2, 317 f., but he has not refuted Schulze's statements.

• Th. Mommsen, GIL 1 1 - p. 2ß1.

• GIL 1 1 - p. 384 .- G. Wissowa, RuKaR ° 197 Arim. 4.

* G. Wissowa, RuKdR - 445 Arim. 3.

on 23 Dec.' rind lŠ. Aug., and finally of Sol on 11 Dec. and 9 Ing.; for that the first day, the Agoninm, w a s a plague of Sol, we may today regard as proven.

After all this, the question must be raised as to whether the cult relationship between Ceres and Hercules does not also have its equivalent on the Greek side.

In fact, we often encounter a cultic connection between Demeter and Heracles. In the (ìymnasion of Elis, according to Pansanias 6, 23, 3, the altars of the Idean, i . e. dactylic Heracles, of Eros and Anteros, of Demeter and her daughter were located close to each other. Furthermore, Heracles had his image at Megalopolis in the sanctuary of *Omar* /ieyó*ot next to that of DemeteF, only one cubit high; Onomacritus had said of this /'opøór §payčę (Pindar., Isthin. 4, 71) that he was one 'ûe *'Jdaíiur* ealoupčrwr dnzzčluir (Pans. 8, 31, 3). Here, too, we encounter the dactyl, and the same applies to a third case, Mykalessos. Here the temple of Demeter was closed by Heracles in the evening and opened by him in the morning: zór de *'Hqaxlśa* etrai air *'IòaÍ'ov* 't*aLov iśvuiv* dozzč2'ur (Pans. 9, 19, 5).°

Here, then, we have the correspondence to the Roman and Samnite cult - in that Heracles is again seen as the part that is subordinate to the goddess. The fact that this i s regularly the dactyl cannot, of course, be without significance for the Italic parallel cases. In Agnone and Rome, Hercules, who stands next to Ceres, can be recognised as the dactyl. And this is even more so, as at least in the case of the Samnite cult, the possibility may be considered as to whether it o r i g i n a t e d from Y'ege via the Italic Cyme directly to Mycalessos. We k n o w that the founders of this oldest Greek city in Italy included not only migrants from Enboia, but also from Boeotia a n d indeed from the neighbouring city of 3lykalessos, Tanagra; we had already considered a similar assumption for the reception of the Liber -'AZeč#rpoç (see above p. 30 f.). That the knlt of the dactylic Heracles anch aonst ant the way

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' **GGİaR 120.** **- tt€liaR** 188 **Anti.** d. **An** in-depth lJnvestigation **will appear from another source.** **- G. K.aibel, NGGW 1901, 507.**

seems to have come to Italy via Kyme, we hope to show elsewhere.

If we summarise nnnmore, it can be taken as a certainty that the Ceres of Agnone is also identical with Demeter - here we are not dealing with a native Italian deity, but with a received Greek deity. But we need not limit ourselves to this assertion - we can still reconstruct the process of this reception to some extent.

Within Agnone's list of gods, a fixed order can be observed. If we disregard the god named first (Dat. Sing.), we encounter the **Suklos* or **Suklos paler* at the beginning and end of the list. Before his name at the end there are five different forms of the Ceres dememen *(*Panda Pislia ,* *This Getiiia , **Perna ,* *Umso and Flora) - a series that corresponds to a similar series of five at the beginning (Ceres, *C!realrix C!erealis, Interstita, Amma C!erealis Ocofioif'6qoq),* interrupted only by the name of the nymphs. We have already seen earlier (see p. 91f. above) that they were moved to this place because of the mention of the Amma C!*erealis.* Together with other plural beings *(Imbres, Manes)* they form a trinity of their own, which finds its counterpart in a similar trinity of male deities (Juppiter is mentioned twice, *Hercules C!erealis).*

The God who is labelled *"eskei*" stands outside this order: he leads it, as it were, gives it a certain sign. Who is meant by this?

It has long been recognised that *zezkei* cannot be equated with a dative * *elusco*, as was once thought - ; it cannot be an -o-stem. The way out would be to use a consonantal stem -)- instead of a --so-snffix, if, in addition, syncope were to be assumed in the middle syllable * and, accordingly, the character c were to be assigned the sound value *ls.*

' **In an essay Hercules and the Argeer- which will be published in one** of the next **issues of Philologus will be published.**

• Yergl. K. had, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 24, 249.

• R. Planta, 1. c. 2, 69 ; 75 note 2.

• R. Planta, 1. c. 1, 218.

(Fsclei (* *Peloskei) ',* would lead to a linguistic öfon8trlim " - not to mention other explanations. blan will therefore do well to abandon the path taken so far and take a different one, especially since a result seems to be achieved here without difficulty.

In the Anrnnkerland we have a *saltus Vescinus* and an *ager Vescinus,* both derived from the name of the city of *Vescia, which* later disappeared.* Its name belongs, as w e have seen, to the centiliz *Vescius* and its derivatives - and is therefore of Etrnskian origin. According to the laws of Etruscan naming, *Vescius Vescia* goes back to an etymon that must have been called *Hesce.* According to the usual way of transliteration, as we encounter it in Latin, it should be rendered by **Vescos.* However, if we consider that the Etruscan ending could occasionally be preserved alongside it, i.e. that we have *C!aeles* alongside Etruscan. come, *Aules* next to etrnsk. *aule alle, Pelrvnes* next to etrusk. *'j)elrune* -, so the possibility cannot be denied that that
*rssce was rendered by **Vesces.* We now obviously encounter this name in our inscription. For werden is to be regarded as the regular dative of this word, taking into account the usual spelling of anch for *s* in Etruscan names.

\What follows from this? - Firstly, it will be clear that the *gens Pescia* in the Anrunkerland named themselves after the god as their ancestor. This places them among the Bildongen such as *Jo "ius, Junius, Dianius, Martins* and others. It is not possible to say what kind of god he was, but his presence in a Samnite clan is of the utmost importance. And this brings us to a second, far more important conclusion.

\If a god of the Anrnnkers appears within the Ceresknlte ron Agnone, the first obvious question i s whether he was not already connected to the Earth Mother in his homeland.

' R. **Planta, 1. c. 1, 70; 391.**

• **For example, construct the nom. sing.** l

• R. **Planta, 1.** c. 2, 75. **- Bl. Nissen, Ital. Landesk.** 8, **663 f.**

° W. Sehnlze, **ZGLEN** ß53¡ 560.

" W. **Schutze , ZGLEN 134 note** 6 ; **285 f. ¡ in addition A. v. Blumenthal, Olotta 17, 105 f.** ; **G. Devoto, Stndi etrnschi 2, 319.**

had stood there. This is possible because even in later times Ceres appears in the immediate neighbourhood of the *ager Vescinus* in 'feannm Sidicinnm (CIL 10, 4793) and in Formiae (CIA 10, 6103 ; 6109). It is true that we encounter a cult of *Osopopöqo9* in Naples (IGI add. 756 a 1; cf. Statios, silv. 4, 8, ii0), which we had recognised in the *liganahdikei* (Dat. Sg.) of Agnone. Should not the Anrnnkers then have been the mediators for the Greek goddess as we had encountered her in the Knlte there - in such a way that they first adopted this goddess among their native cults and then, together with one of their tribal gods, the **Vezkes,* a l l o w e d her to reach Samninai, the **interior of** the country ?

That this is the case is supported by a number of general considerations. For example, the fact that they belonged to the Oscian tribe, which is explicitly mentioned to us (Antiochus in Strabo ö p. 242 ; Aristot. Pol. 7, 9, 3) and confirmed by the Oscian writings of the Ancients, could be cited in favour of their role as mediators. Moreover, we also know that the tribe once had an even greater influence than in historical t i m e s , when it w a s limited to the area around the mouth of the Liris. The name of the A? orior uiiayo9 and the city of Nosemttiin indicate a very considerable extension of the settlements; the designation of the entire peninsula as D0nor(y shows with whom the Greeks primarily came into contact. The Anrunks were therefore, at least for the earlier period, the favoured mediators when it came to making Greek cultural goods accessible to the tribes in the interior of the peninsula.

In particular, our view would be supported by the strongly emphasised, as it were leading position that **Veokes* occupies within the order of the gods of Agnone. It looks as if the other deities follow him, as if he is the herald who introduces them. But a second fact, given by our inscription, must also be mentioned. **Vezkes* bears an Etruscan name, and to encounter Etruscan influences among the anchors in particular must not be surprising. Have

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' **On the following** ¡ J. B. **Hofmann, Festschr.** Streitberg **368** ¡ U. v. Wila-**mowitz, Pindaros ö0ß** ; **E. Ciaceri, Storia della Magna** Oreeia I -, 3S f.

Both tribes lived in close proximity in Campania; at the same time, the excavations in the sanctuary of Marica have revealed the influence that the Etruscan colony exerted on the neighbouring tribe.[1] Now, within our inscription, we encounter an Etruscan element not only in **Veskes,* but also in **Perna,* which we had previously equated with the Roman (Anna) Perenna. flann here, as we have already seen above, we are led to the Cam- panian Etruscans as the starting point; the goddess must have travelled from Campania to Samninm. This can be perfectly reconciled with the previously assumed mediating activity of the Aurunci, so that the Campanian origin of the cu1tes of Agnone seems to us to be proven in its entirety. Finally, if we consider that the Campanian Nola, according to the testimony of Hecataeus (F. Gr. Hist. 1 f. 61), was in the possession of the Aurunci, and that, according to another account, it was a foundation of the Etruscans (Solin 35, 14 M.)," the close connection between the two peoples is confirmed once again; beyond that, however, it becomes clear which particular path the Greek Demeterknlt could have taken on his migration to Samnium.

At the same time, this provides an approximate time reference point for the emergence of the Ceres cult of Agnone. For the Anrnnkers must still have possessed their old significance in order to be able to play their role as rites. In particular, however, the Samnites could not yet have taken possession of Campania at that time, because then

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' A. Yogliano, Gnomon 3, 497 ; G. Kasehnits-Weinberg, Arch. Ans. 1927, 120; GGiaR 165 f.

• tlberliefert iat there that Nola a *Tyriic* was founded. Of course, this can only mean the Etruacians. For if the city appears on its older coins as Tfi/rio, *Uria* or Orion (H. Nissen, Ital. Landesk. II 1, 757), then this is an Etruscan name (W. Schulse, ZGLEN 529 ¡ latest statement on the question in E. Giaceri, Storia della Magna Grecia I - 368f.). With a slight change, one could write a *Ty8ci8*, simpler still would be a f'yrsir. Then the pure stem sur would be used here to designate the yolk, which otherwise only exists in derivations: 70oa-§*oi, umbr. tu¥8-VOM, l8t. Ü4tltPtt8 ttOS Luf'*t-CO-8,* EN. 'Z'itraos Blls - Ü4J¥8-*'H'O-8* (W. Schulse, ZGLEN 574 note 6). But we have probably already gone too far in our reliance on our Solin tradition; after all, the possibility raised here must be considered. to keep an eye on.

it hardly required mediation by another tribe. However, we arrive at approximately the eleventh century as the lower date for the reception of the Demeter cult and this result can then be specified from another angle. As we have seen, two deities in our circle bear an ethnic name. They may have received it in the 6th century, when the Etrnskians had immigrated to Campania.

Let us summarise. If we previously surmised that the Knlt of Hercules Cerealis had come via Kyme, this is confirmed at least insofar as we have now once again come across Campania as a point of origin. Even more significant is the result for the Roman knlt. I)f the triad Ceres , Liber and Libera was associated with Naples, one of the Campanian Greek cities (see p. 34 above). And i f we encountered a strong ethnic influence in this knlt alongside the Greek element, we see the counterpart in Agnone - all the more significant as the adoption of the Samnite knlt c o i n c i d e s at least approximately with that of that triad.

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